



## Win a lottery

Details on  
page 10

## IN SECTION TWO

MISSION  
IMPOSSIBLE  
The Spam relaunch

# Howard fires prison chief over debacle

## Labour in scapegoat charge

HEATHER MILLS  
Home Affairs Correspondent.

Derek Lewis, the head of the Prison Service, was sacked yesterday after the damning inquiry into the Parkhurst escape, amid claims that he was being "scapegoated" for the errors of the Home Secretary.

Michael Howard was facing resignation calls from both main opposition parties last night, as Mr Lewis went onto the offensive, accusing the Home Secretary of political interference and of blurring the lines of responsibility.

He took the rare step of publishing his letter after Mr Howard had told the House that Sir John "has not found that any policy decision of mine, directly or indirectly, caused the escape" from Parkhurst.

Mr Howard emphasised in the Commons that Sir John had said that "responsibilities ultimately reach Prisons Board level and that the criticism stops there." He said later: "If these criticisms had been made of me, I would have gone but they were not ... and at whom, the criticisms were directed."

But Jack Straw, Labour's home affairs spokesman, said he could find no any references in the report which cleared Mr Howard from blame and added: "The Secretary of State and his fellow ministers have interfered daily in the running and operation of the Prisons Service."

"Given the state of the Prisons Service today, the way in which it has been run ragged by continual ministerial interference, the constant changes of policy, will you not now understand that if anyone is to go, it must be you?"

Alan Beith, the Liberal Democrats' home affairs spokesman, said: "How is the sacking of Derek Lewis supposed to discharge all ministerial responsibility for the appalling state of affairs? Who was he reporting to, sometimes several times a day, but the Home Secretary?"

Mr Howard rejected "absolutely" allegations of ministerial interference. "It is

accusations of murder against two prisoners on home leave and the embarrassment caused to the Home Secretary by the movement of IRA prisoners just after the ceasefire was announced...

Sir John Learmonth's report said the Parkhurst breakout revealed "a chapter of errors at every level and a naivety that defies belief". The report into prison security in England and Wales found Parkhurst was "totally unsuitable" for housing some of the most difficult prisoners in the system. The report identified "lax and unprofessional procedures which made it relatively easy for the escapes to achieve their objective".

Sources suggested it was Mr Lewis's failure to act on a warning about Parkhurst from Judge Stephen Jumim, Chief Inspector of Prisons, that finally led to his dismissal.

Mr Lewis was told in April that his three-year contract - at £125,000 a year plus bonus, due to end in January 1996 - would not be renewed. He

would then go on what has been described as a "one-more-escape-and-you're-out" monthly contract. In fact, the withering Learmonth inquiry left no margin for further error.

The sacking of Mr Lewis introduces more instability into a service suffering from low morale, prison overcrowding and the difficulties of privatisation. The recent clampdown on home leave and the introduction of more austere regimes has led to increased tensions in overcrowded prisons. The Home Secretary's latest tough law-and-order prison package, which is expected to lead to an increase in the 52,000 prison population, will add to the problems.

The treatment of Mr Lewis, appointed in 1992 on a reforming agenda set by Lord Woolf, but who four months later found he was dealing with a different programme of locking up more, for longer, and in harsher conditions, means a successor may be hard to find.

Richard Til, Director of Custody, has stepped into the breach on a temporary basis.

### Learmonth: The main points

- The highest risk prisoners should be housed in a purpose-built high security jail.
- Parkhurst should be downgraded as soon as possible.
- Armed response units should be set up for prisons.
- The director-general of the Prison Service should have regular contact with those with operational responsibilities.
- Better training for all staff.
- The director-general must balance keeping ministers informed with the need to run the Prison Service.
- The Prison Service to take urgent action to cut down the mountain of paperwork.

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Lewis letter, page 3  
Another view, page 12  
Leading article, page 18  
Andrew Marr, page 19

Beforehand the mood of the establishment, black and white alike, had been cautious, alarmed that the largest black rally here since Martin Luther King gave his "I have a dream" speech in August 1963, would turn into a vehicle for the anti-Semitic, white-baiting views of Mr Farrakhan.

Speaking in Texas, President Clinton warned how "One mil-

lion men do not make right one man's message of malice and division" - an unmistakable allusion to Mr Farrakhan.

Earlier General Colin Pow-

ell, who along with several moderate black church, civil rights and political figures, had shunned the rally, said he wished "Someone else had had the idea of the March". Defending his absence, the possible presidential candidate said his presence on the speaker's podium would have given the Nation of Islam leader "more credibility than I would like".

More pertinently, Stevie

Wonder, the singer, told the crowd stretching away towards the Washington monument, that "this is bigger than one man". Marion Barry, the once disgraced Mayor of Washington, provided a personal cameo of the redemption theme. "Look at me, I have never been stronger and wiser," Mr Barry, who went to prison for drug use

before returning to win back his old job, declared. "If the Lord can do it for me, he can do it for you."

The powers have not treat-

ed us well," declared the Rev Robert Smith as he gave the morning sermon, and a few placards attacked the police, savaged in the recent OJ Simpson trial: "Chicago police, Natural Born Killers," proclaimed a slogan. Elsewhere a gigantic portrait of OJ Simpson, floated over the crowd. But the atmosphere was festive and utterly unthreatening. The few whites who were in attendance fled entirely at ease.

Whether the March attained

its statistical goal would only be

come clear later in the day. But by 10am Ben Chavis, the former head of the NAACP civil rights group, was claiming that a million people had already arrived

and much of Washington - offi-

cally and otherwise - had ef-

fectively shut down, leaving the

streets elsewhere in the city eerily empty. The Million Man March drew more than a sprinkling of black women to the Capitol grounds and the National Mall: Cora Masters Barry, wife of Marion Barry, declared from the podium: "This is the prettiest sight I've ever seen in my entire life."

"I pray my multiracial and international friends will view

this gathering as an opportunity

for all men, but particularly

men of African-American her-

itage, to make changes in their lives for the better," said Rosa Parks, who became known as the "mother of the civil rights movement" after her refusal in 1955 to give up her bus seat in Montgomery, Alabama, became a cause celebre.

The ultimate hope, however,

was reconciliation, a theme re-

peated time and again by Presi-

dent Clinton. Rejecting Mr

Farrakhan's separationism, he

urged the country to heal "the rift we see before us that is tearing at the heart of America"

and unite the black and white worlds "at last into one America".

Atonement and gaiety, pages 10,11

# A million blacks take capital in their stride



Stepping out: Nation of Islam marchers making their way towards the Capitol in Washington yesterday

Photograph: Greg Gibson/AP

## Rupert Cornwell witnesses a collective rite of revivalism in Washington's biggest black rally since Martin Luther King

In a huge collective rite of revivalism, hundreds of thousands of African-Americans yesterday assembled at the foot of the US Capitol to reassess their identity as blacks, and to overcome the crisis besetting black America. "Atonement" was the order of the day for the Million Man March organised by Louis Farrakhan, leader of the Nation of Islam.

But as a crisp and sunny autumn day progressed, any fears the rally would fall victim to his often bitter black separationism abated. The mood was relaxed, even joyful, the air cut with cries of "God Bless the black man", and the aromas of barbecue beef and fried chicken.

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# Lottery money counted as public purse

PATRICIA WYNN DAVIES  
Political Correspondent

Lottery funds are being counted as public spending, the Treasury admitted yesterday, in apparent contradiction of last week's pledge by William Waldegrave, the Chief Secretary.

The admission came after a confidential letter revealed that the Welsh Office was treating lottery money as public sector funding and will fuel growing suspicions that lottery cash will

be increasingly used to help contain spending at a time when the Government wants to cut taxes.

A Treasury spokesman said yesterday: "Lottery funding counts as public spending and always has done. Lottery funds are not designed to replace existing funds. But when it comes to the stage of dispersal of lottery funds, they count as public spending."

Mr Waldegrave's undertaking last week came after the leak of a letter from Virginia Bottomley, development director of the Welsh Tourist Board, to the Bre-

ley, Secretary of State for National Heritage, urging him not to cut her budget in the light of lottery awards.

Mr Waldegrave made no pledge to protect Mrs Bottomley's departmental budget - but he promised that the so-called "additionality" principle would remain. The Government has repeatedly promised that lottery cash will not be used to fund its existing programmes.

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# news

Rosemary West trial: Defendant 'was like Jekyll and Hyde' as Miss A tells of assault of girls at Cromwell Street

## Teenage girls 'were tied up and raped'

WILL BENNETT

A harrowing account of a sex attack on two girls allegedly carried out by Rosemary and Frederick West at 25 Cromwell Street was given to Winchester Crown Court yesterday.

A woman identified only as Miss A wept as she told the court that she and another girl had been raped by Mr West and sexually assaulted by Mrs West after having their wrists and ankles bound with tape.

She said that during the attack Mrs West "was like Jekyll and Hyde". One moment she had an aggressive voice and then the next she was being all motherly again.

Miss A denied a suggestion from Richard Ferguson, QC, defending Mrs West, that her account of the incident was a fantasy that she had invented. "I wish I had," she replied.

But she admitted that she had a history of psychiatric problems and that she had had hallucinations about Mr West.

Mrs West, 41, denies murdering 10 girls and young women whose remains were found at their house in Cromwell Street, Gloucester, and at their previous home in

the city. Mr West, who was charged with 12 murders, was found dead in his prison cell on 1 January this year.

The prosecution has alleged that seven of the victims were gagged with tape, tied up and kept alive while they were sexually abused. They were mutilated and dismembered before being buried, five of them in the cellar at Cromwell Street.

Miss A, 33, said that she was taken into care at the age of 13 and went for assessment at Russett House, Gloucester. While there, she took care friendly with a girl who took her round to 25 Cromwell Street.

Mrs West was happy to talk to Miss A about the problems she was experiencing in care and the two formed a bond. Miss A said yesterday: "She was very nice. She was like a big sister-mum. Miss A was then transferred to Jordans Brook children's home in Gloucester but continued to visit Cromwell Street, going there eight or nine times.

On one visit, Mrs West answered the door dressed only in bra and pants. On another occasion, Mrs West made a sexual approach. Miss A said: "She came quite close and started kissing my neck and touching my breasts on the outside of my clothes."

Miss A told the court that in the summer of 1977, when she was 15, Mrs West answered the door wearing a see-through blouse with nothing underneath. They went upstairs and Mrs West led Miss A to a bedroom where Mr West was waiting with two young girls who were both naked. One was aged about 13 or 14 and the other, who had a tattoo on her arm, was 15 or 16.

Mrs West started undressing

Miss A and then got undressed herself. She went over to the younger girl and started caressing her. Miss A said the girl "looked very distressed and frightened".

Miss A said that Mrs West then produced some brown parcel-type tape and Mr West taped the younger girl's hands and wrists together in front of her and bound her ankles so that her legs were apart.

The girl was then subjected to a sexual assault and Mr West had sexual intercourse with her. Throughout the attack the

Wests were making sexual remarks and saying things such as "enjoy" and "it's good".

After they had finished with the girl, Mrs West pulled off the tape off harshly and was "like Jekyll and Hyde" alternating between aggression and gentleness. Miss A told the court. She went on: "During the sexual bits it was not a soft sexual voice like in passion. It was like 'This is what we're going to do. This is how it's going to be.' Afterwards she was telling her 'It's OK' in a very soft, gentle voice."

As the first girl sat and wept, Miss A said she realised "God, I'm next." She added: "I wanted to scream, I wanted to kick, I wanted to cry and I just felt numb," but she did nothing because she was frightened.

She said that Mrs West then tied her hands behind her back and bound her ankles with tape. Miss A was then subjected to several sexual assaults with a vibrator and what she believed to be a candle, which caused her pain. Mr West had intercourse with her.

Brian Leveson, QC, for the prosecution, asked: "Was anything said?" Miss A replied: "Just enjoy, relax, and these sort of things all the time. Rose said

to Fred 'are you enjoying this?'. Mrs West then pulled the tape off her rather brutally and Miss A said: "I felt horrible, dirty, and I ran to the bathroom and washed. I just wanted to scrub away."

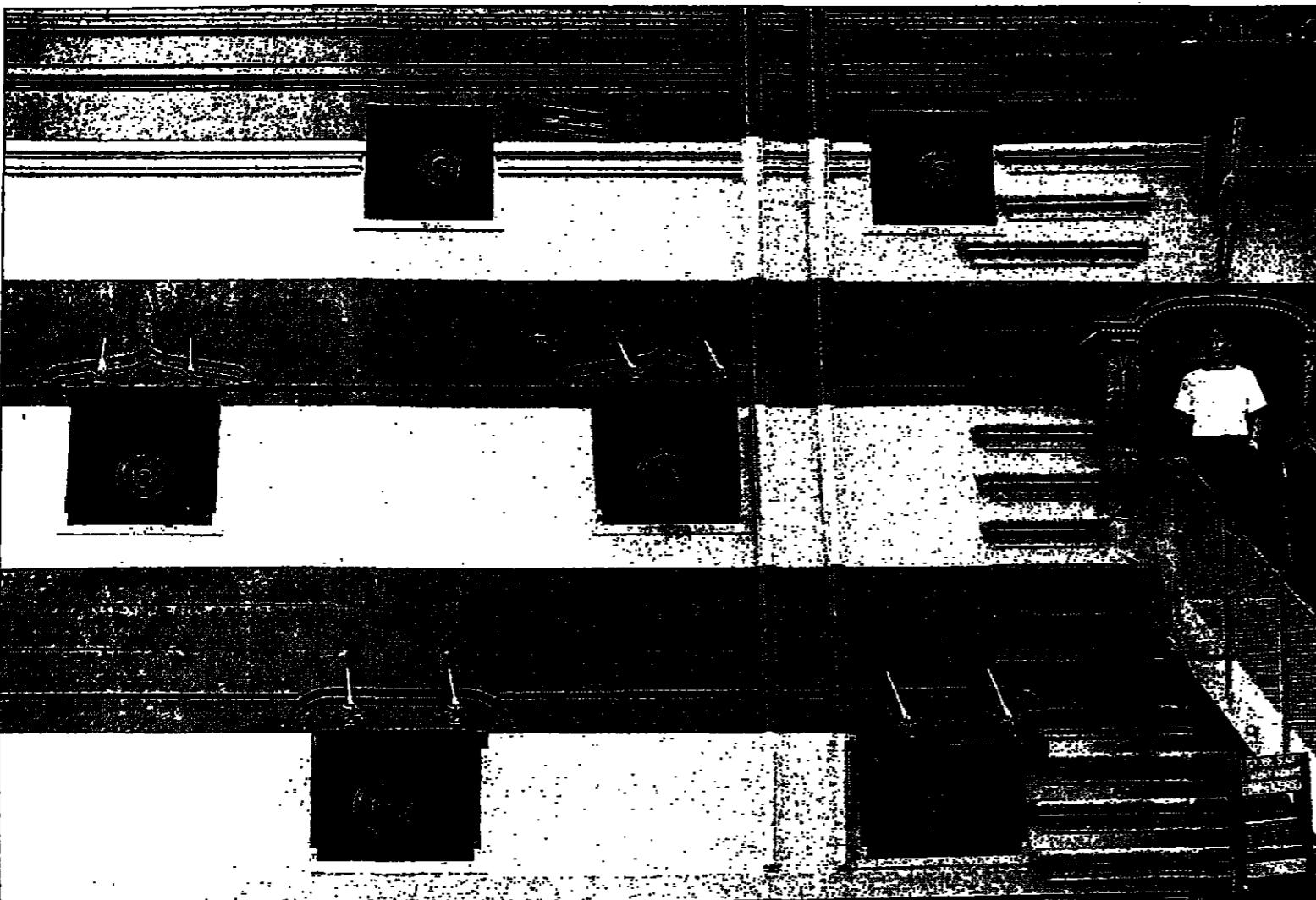
After leaving the house, she said she did not know what to do. "I couldn't go to the police because there was a stigma because if you were in care you were bad. I couldn't go to my mum. I couldn't go to my dad. There was nobody." Later she stole a can of petrol from the children's home and planned to throw it through the letter-box of 25 Cromwell Street and set fire to it. But she lost her nerve.

Miss A told the court that she had signed a £30,000 contract for her story. Cross-examined by Mr Ferguson, Miss A admitted that there had been inconsistencies in her evidence. When police first approached her last year she denied going to Cromwell Street. As she finished her evidence, she sobbed: "I know what happened. It is not a fantasy."

The trial continues today.



An artist's impression of Miss A telling the court of Mrs West's sexual mood swings. Illustration: Judith McAvagh



Broadside view: HMS Victory shed all its scaffolding yesterday for the first time in 15 years. Nelson's flagship remains encumbered for only two weeks before restoration work at Portsmouth Historic Dockyard switches from starboard to port

Photograph: Brian Harris

## Government firm 'broke Iran embargo'

CHRIS BLACKHURST  
Westminster Correspondent

The British government was accused yesterday of knowingly breaking a United Nations arms embargo and its own guidelines preventing the supply of arms to Iran during the Iran-Iraq war.

The potentially explosive allegation was made by Stephen Byers, MP for Wallsend and a Labour whip, in a letter to Valerie Strachan, head of Customs and Excise. Mr Byers claimed he had evidence detailing five shipments made by Royal Ordnance, then a state-owned ammunition manufacturer, to Iran in 1985 and 1986.

If proven, Mr Byers' claims would cause maximum damage to the Government as it awaits publication of the Scott inquiry report into arms exports to Iraq. The Royal Ordnance allegations could bring into question the role of Michael Heseltine, the Deputy Prime Minister, who was, for part of the period, Secretary of State for Defence, in ultimate control of Royal Ordnance. This could be the first time Mr Heseltine's name has been dragged into the embargo-breaking scandals culminating in the Scott inquiry. Unlike several of his Cabinet colleagues, Mr Heseltine is expected to emerge with clean hands from the Scott report.

Mr Byers requested that Customs extend its current investigation into possible breaches of arms controls by BMARC, the defence supplier which once counted Jonathan Aitken, former defence minister, among its directors, to cover Royal Ordnance. It was Mr Heseltine

who instigated that inquiry. BMARC sent naval guns to Iran via Singapore, in contravention of the UN blockade and government export guidelines. Mr Byers, however, claims to have obtained evidence of direct shipments to Iran, and, most embarrassingly of all, says they were made by a government-owned company.

A "Memorandum of Understanding" between Royal Ordnance and the Government makes it clear who was in charge: the company had to submit an annual business plan to the Secretary of State for Defence and could not enter into exclusive trading agreements without his approval.

Thirty-five pages of documents, including ships' manifests, sent to Customs, apparently map out five shipments from Royal Ordnance:

■ From a Kent port in September 1985. On board were 11 containers of propellant powder and one of tetryl. The ship went to Zeebrugge, then to Rijeka in Yugoslavia and on to Bandar Abbas in Iran where the cargo was unloaded on 26 October 1985.

■ From a Kent port to Iran with three containers of tetryl, in November 1985.

■ 54 cases of tetryl to Iran in April 1986.

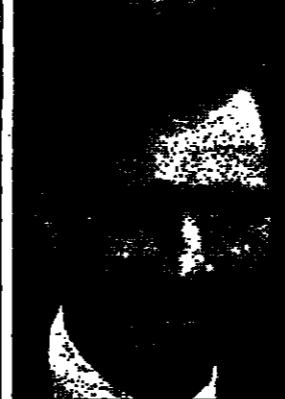
■ 104 cases of Royal Ordnance-manufactured tetryl to Bandar Abbas in June 1986.

■ 2,600 boxes of explosive powder to Bandar Abbas in July 1986.

Mr Byers obtained his papers from sources in the United States and Scandinavia. They refer to Royal Ordnance's participation in a tight-knit group of European explosives manufacturers. Another British ammunition-maker is ICL. It is understood ICI management ordered the company to take no part in the trade with Iran.

The consignments were organised by Scandinavian commodity, according to Mr Byers' documents, with the shipping arranged by Transammo of Antwerp in Belgium. In some cases, claims Mr Byers, the Royal Bank of Scotland is shown as acting as banker.

A Customs spokeswoman said they had yet to receive Mr Byers' letter and it was too early to comment.



Aitken: Investigated

## British blacks stage unity rally at Broadwater Farm

PETER VICTOR

As a million black men marched in the United States capital yesterday, hundreds of British black men and women were arriving at the community centre on Broadwater Farm estate in Tottenham, north London.

News of the national black unity rally in Britain, called in sympathy with the Million Man March in Washington DC, set nerves twanging among residents on the estate, the police and local politicians. All were united in their desire to say as little as possible in advance of the meeting, describing it as a "cynical" stunt. The concern centred around the keynote speaker, Minister Wayne X, a prominent member of the black separatist Nation of Islam. The Fruit of Islam, as the group's followers are known, see the estate as a ripe picking ground.

A Scotland Yard spokesman stressed that the gathering was a "private meeting not an open air rally" and said policing

around the estate would continue in "the normal fashion".

Haringey council said none of its members would be attending "except in a private capacity", while the Broadwater Farm residents' association said: "This meeting is absolutely nothing to do with us, nothing at all."

Only the Jewish Board of Deputies, concerned about overtly anti-Semitic comments by Louis Farrakhan, the Nation of Islam's American leader, was willing to openly condemn the meeting, describing it as a "cynical" stunt. The concern centred around the keynote speaker, Minister Wayne X, a prominent member of the black separatist Nation of Islam. The Fruit of Islam, as the group's followers are known, see the estate as a ripe picking ground.

Although millions of pounds have been spent improving Broadwater Farm, including hundreds of thousands of pounds to build the community centre, the venue for last night's meeting, the young black men who hang around the shops on the estate feel little has been done for them.

The death of Cynthia Jarrett, a Broadwater Farm resident, during a police raid 10 years ago sparked off the worst race riots Britain has seen. Constable Keith Blakelock was hacked to death and the estate has never lived down its reputation. Perhaps as a direct result it is an ideal recruiting ground for Farrakhan's self-empowerment, self-help message. Unemployment among young black men on the estate is also disproportionately high.

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Motivated solely by a desire for personal advancement and achievement.

It named Mr Malcolm, who has 28 caps and has taken more than 100 Test wickets, in such a way as to question his suitability to be selected for England, his patriotism and his loyalty.

Mr Malcolm found the allegations, which were entirely untrue, racist and highly offensive, Mr Dossi said.

He had always been a fully committed England player and supporter and took pride in playing for his country.

Rupert Elliott, for the defence, said the publishers Wisden Cricket Magazines Ltd and would be

the magazine's editor dissociated themselves from the allegations, which were made by an independent contributor.

The article was published in the belief that it was a contribution to a legitimate debate but it was now accepted it should not have appeared.

They had already published an apology and were happy to repeat it in public. They had agreed to pay Mr Malcolm damages and his legal cost.

Mr Malcolm, of Oakwood, Derby, left court smiling after the judge added his best wishes for the tour.

"I hope Mr Malcolm can repeat his triumph at The Oval," Mr Justice Mortland commented.

ed, referring to the bowler's haul in 1984 of nine South African wickets for 57 runs.

Afterwards, Mr Malcolm said he intended to pay a share of the damages to the Derbyshire Children's Hospital and the Devon Malcolm Cricket Centre for young people in Sheffield.

"I am delighted that my commitment to the England team has been recognised. I hope no one will ever again question the dedication and loyalty of sportsmen and women because of their place of birth or ethnic origin," he said.

"It is important to me to promote multi-racial sport. I am looking forward now to playing for England in South Africa."

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Devon Malcolm: Committed

The England cricketer Devon Malcolm yesterday accepted substantial undisclosed libel damages over a magazine article which questioned his commitment to the team.

The Jamaican-born Derbyshire fast bowler, who leaves for the winter tour of South Africa tomorrow, attended the High Court to hear his solicitor, Naynesh Dossi, tell the judge,

Mr Justice Mortland, of the great offence caused by the item in the July issue of *Wisden Cricket Monthly*.

Headed "Is it in the blood?", the article suggested that England players of overseas origin would lack real commitment to the England team and would be

motivated solely by a desire for personal advancement and achievement.

It named Mr Malcolm, who has 28 caps and has taken more than 100 Test wickets, in such a way as to question his suitability to be selected for England, his patriotism and his loyalty.

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### IN BRIEF

#### Clinton aide targets Ulster deadlock

Tony Lake, President Clinton's National Security Adviser, met officials at Downing Street yesterday as part of efforts to revive the Northern Ireland peace process with a plan for an international commission for decommissioning IRA and loyalist paramilitary weapons.

There are hopes the proposal will be agreed before Mr Clinton's visit to Britain at the end of next month.

Dick Spring, the Irish Foreign Minister, and Sir Patrick Mayhew, the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, will meet in Belfast today to discuss security and political plans for moving the peace process forward.

#### Crash charges

The articulated lorry driver involved in a head-on crash with a car which killed five young British medics working in southern Africa is to face charges of "culpable homicide". Swaziland police said inquiries into the accident near Lumivava are continuing but the driver, from Durban, South Africa, is to be remanded for trial.

#### Oil spill toll

A factory that spilled 2 tons of heavy fuel oil into the Mersey polluting a five-mile stretch of the river estuary could face prosecution by the National Rivers Authority. More than 100 birds were affected by the spillage from a soap and washing powder works in Warrington, Cheshire.

#### Brain injury award

A seven-year-old girl stuck with the mental age of a six-month-old after suffering brain damage at birth was awarded £785,000 agreed damages at the High Court in London. Lucy Piper was asphyxiated when her mother went into labour at Farnborough hospital, Orpington, Kent.

#### Footballer fined

Footballer Steve Kirk, 32, a defender with Scottish premier division team Falkirk, was fined £250 after being found guilty of injuring a 12-year-old girl when he recklessly kicked the ball into the crowd during a game against Hearts in April.

#### Author dies

William Murray, the creator of the Peter and Jane reading books for young children, has died aged 83. More than 80 million copies of the 37 Ladybird keyword reading scheme books he helped devise over 30 years ago have been sold.

#### £1.6m drug haul

Cannabis resin with a street value of £1.6m was seized at Heathrow in the largest seizure of the drug at London airports this year. A detector dog found the 500kg of the drug in a consignment of machine parts from Holland.

#### Wheelchair attack

Police were hunting four youths

# 'Chapter of errors' led to Parkhurst escape

STEPHEN WARD

In the dark of a January evening, a dog handler at Parkhurst noticed a hole cut in the wire perimeter fence. It took 30 minutes for staff to discover who was missing, and by that time three prisoners had been on the run with money and weapons for two and a half hours.

The Learmont inquiry into the episode tells the story of disaster at every stage, "a chapter of errors at every level and a naivety which defies belief". The break-out was not based on any "new or ingenious" plan, but simply on the ability of the

prisoners to follow a well-trodden path through loose and ineffective security.

The escape was the culmination of long and detailed preparations which rivalled those of the British prisoners of war in Colditz. The three men had made tools, a steel ladder and a gun, and had acquired blank ammunition. They had also made a key - which they tested beforehand - to open all the doors and gates, and somehow managed to accumulate more than £200.

On the evening of the escape the three men had stayed on in the sports hall after exercise. No one noticed that the party of ten

had shrunk to seven back on the wing. The men walked 200 yards without being noticed, using their key to open doors, including the training workshop where they picked up the tools they had prepared beforehand.

They then cut their way through a mesh fence, where they were missed by closed-circuit television cameras, before scaling the perimeter wall using the ladder, still unseen by the cameras and unnoticed by prison officers.

The staff who were supposed to be keeping an eye on the television screens were untrained and distracted by other duties. Despite almost 20 years of cor-

respondence and complaints, alarms had never been installed by the Prison Service on the perimeter fence. Some areas were not covered by the closed circuit cameras. The report says this neglect of technology was "quite extraordinary".

The escaping men were in their own clothes, with a good head start. They walked to Newport and took a taxi nine miles to Sandown. They then spent four days trying to steal an aircraft, and several boats, undetected by the massive search now underway. Finally, they were caught after being spotted by chance by an off-duty prison officer.

The inquiry revealed that one of the escaped prisoners was a qualified sheet-metal worker who had been left, unsupervised, to make the ladder out of some unwanted goalposts. Another made the key, probably copying from memory a prison officer's key. He also made a tool which would help steal cars and aircraft. And, somehow, they made a gun.

The cash and ammunition probably came in via visitors. There was no closed-circuit television in the visiting area, and the report says: "It was known by officers that, in the confusion and noise, illicit items were regularly passed to the inmates."

Staff themselves may have brought illegal items in - they were seldom checked.

Some of the weaknesses are blamed on the continual and disruptive working at the Victorian jail, which had begun in 1988 and should have finished in 1993, but will now go on into the next century. Staff, including the Governor, resisted temporary closure in order to protect their jobs.

A phone stability was achieved at Parkhurst... by surrender to the prisoners of control over their daily existence," says the report. The prison was effectively run by the prisoners; there was no real fin-

No one knew who should be called in to help, many radios and torches had flat batteries, and maps were illegible photocopies. The report concludes: "The break-out could have been launched at any time with the same chances of success. There is little to commend in the way things were done despite the conscientiousness of many individuals."

"The hopelessness of the situation is perhaps best illustrated by the comments of many honest prison officers who during interviews made the plea: 'Please come back and check that your recommendations have been implemented'."

**Prison chief sad not to complete his term**

**Jojo Moyes** looks at the brief and difficult tenure of a 'career manager'

Few were surprised when it emerged earlier this year that Derek Lewis had not been the first choice to head the Prison Service.

A career manager, whose previous charges had included motorway services, television rental and Granada Television, he had no prison or public work experience when he was appointed in 1993. More importantly, he had no experience of dealing with ministers.

Mr Lewis's tenure did not take place in the easiest of times and many feel he has been an "unlucky" Director General. In his two years in the service the prison population has jumped from 40,000 to 51,500, and four months after his appointment he inherited Michael Howard as Home Secretary, a man with a very different view of the prison regime.

Detractors admit that he has improved many parts of the prison service. But Mr Lewis, who was paid an unprecedented £125,000 a year, was also unpopular for following ministers' advice against research, and for implementing privatisation reforms and market testing, which demoralised staff and overwhelmed governors with administration.

He also presided over some of the worst lapses in security, and it was the furore surrounding these that led to his dismissal yesterday.

Whitemoor prison in Cambridgeshire has been one of Mr Lewis's greatest bugbears. Five IRA terrorists tried to shoot their way out of the prison last year and Semtex explosive was later discovered inside.

Mr Lewis was also criticised over the transfer of IRA prisoners; Brighton bomber Patrick Magee was sent back to Ulster on the day the Northern Ireland ceasefire started. The escapes from privatised security firms, the Ewerthorpe riots, the suicide of alleged multiple killer Fred West while on remand, and the murder of a Woolworth's shop assistant by murderer Ian Kay while on prison leave compounded the pressure.

But it was the escape of three dangerous prisoners from Parkhurst in January this year that ultimately made Mr Lewis's position untenable, especially once a leaked copy of Sir John Learmont's report singled him out for criticism. The report said the policy of



Final departure: Derek Lewis leaving his office yesterday

Photograph: Geraint Lewis

appointing business executives and civil servants without operational experience to run the prison service had been "a disaster". Mr Lewis, renowned for his planning and cost-evaluation skills, was reported to have been appointed over more obvious candidates because of his fervent backing of prison privatisation.

By early this year, however, there were reports that he was poised to quit; that he had told close colleagues he wanted out

of the hot seat and a return to industry. Meanwhile, relations between Mr Lewis and Michael Howard are said to have become increasingly strained, largely due to what is seen as the Home Secretary's "interference" in the work of the Prison Service.

Michael Howard yesterday told the Commons that it was "with some sadness" that he had concluded a change of leadership was necessary. But Mr Lewis is said to be angry at

having been used as a political shield by the Home Secretary. Mr Lewis has been described as Mr Howard's "whipping boy" and has said he is deeply disappointed "not to finish the job off".

In his letter in response to the "sacking" he told the Home Secretary: "It is a great disappointment to me that in the 13 months since the Whitemoor escape you have required so much paper but have paid so little attention to prisons."

## Alcatraz-style jail planned

HEATHER MILLS  
Home Affairs Correspondent

A super-secure Alcatraz-style prison for high risk, sophisticated prisoners, another to take psychotic and volatile inmates, and the setting up of armed response units are central to Sir John Learmont's blueprint for the future.

His 180-page report contains 127 recommendations for root and branch reform, designed to end what he described as "a chapter of errors at every level and a naivety that defies belief."

As well as improving the physical security of the country's jails, the report recommends restructuring and streamlining management, the total reappraisal of the risks posed by all inmates and major changes in their treatment. "This inquiry has found a great deal that needs to be put right within the prison service, spanning leadership, structure, the management chain and the ethos of the

service," Sir John concludes.

In what will be a controversial recommendation to a Home Secretary who does not want to appear soft on prisoners, he also recommends to use of in-cell television as a means of control. He suggests that its provision and the hours it can be used could be used as an incentive for good behaviour.

The fact that so many other countries have gone down this road is proof positive of its advantages.

He identifies as a priority the need to end the drug culture in jails and suggests removing prisoners' rights to private cash, which has allowed some to have access to thousands of pounds. All cash should be earned and jails should increase the amount of work available to inmates.

Sir John suggests mandatory "closed" visits, where visitors and prisoners are divided by glass screens, for all exceptional risk inmates, like IRA prisoners. He also says that Judge Stephen Tumlin, the independent

Chief Inspector of Prisons

- who had warned about lax security at Parkhurst before the escape - should have an enhanced role with an increased staff.

The cost is estimated at over £134.5m in the first four years - the bulk of which is for the two new super-secure prisons.

Denying that he had imported the idea from the United States, Sir John said a well-respected architect had been brought in to design a British jail for the 21st century.

It would have two control towers, and although he makes no recommendation for on-site firearms, he does suggest the setting up of armed response units. Visitors would have to pass through a tunnel into a prison divided into separate, self-contained units, with all recreational areas covered by anti-helicopter wire. Would-be escapees would have to negotiate three walls and a fence, dogs, cameras and alarms.

The idea for an Alcatraz-type jail was first put forward 30 years

ago by Earl Mountbatten, after his inquiry into the escape of spy George Blake.

But his idea of holding all the most dangerous criminals under one roof was rejected in favour of the current "dispersal" system - which spreads all high risk prisoners among six top security jails: Parkhurst, Whitemoor, Full Sutton, Long Lartin, Frankland and Belmarsh.

Sir John has reversed the 30-year penal policy after a series of security embarrassments, including those at Parkhurst and Whitemoor, which showed that the dispersal system was far from foolproof. The humiliations began with the spectacular helicopter escape in 1987 from Gartree prison by Andrew Russell. He was also among those who escaped from Whitemoor in September last year.

But there remains deep concern about the new plans, not least from governors who claim it makes impossible the breaking up of gangs bent on escape, violence or intimidation.

## 'Your objectives were achieved'

This is an edited version of the letter from Derek Lewis to Home Secretary, Michael Howard

FOR AGAINST

Dear Michael,

I am responding to your statement given to the House this afternoon. We met late yesterday morning, when you said that you had studied the report of the Learmont Inquiry... You had also seen the considerable amount of material... setting out my assessment... of the report.

You said that the two views were not reconcilable and that you had to choose between them. You went on to say that you accepted the general thrust of the report but that the criticisms in it... made my position untenable.

You proposed that we should both agree, and that you should report to the House today, that it would be in the best interests of the Prison Service for me to give up the directorship generally at the end of this calendar year.

... must reiterate the circumstances and basis on which I was appointed by your predecessor, Kenneth Clarke.

He and others had identified severe weaknesses in both the performance and the operation of the Prison Service... It was decided to give the service agency status and appoint a new director general by open competition.

On my arrival, it was clear that the extent of the performance, organisational, structural and cultural weaknesses were far greater than had been described to me... It was also clear that achieving the fundamental changes and turnaround required would

Derek Lewis : The case for and against

FOR

AGAINST

Experience

As Chief Executive of Granda, he had no previous experience of jails and none of dealing with ministers.

Leadership

He carried out minister's bidding even when it went against research and advice. That included the introduction of boot camps and curfews, and the introduction of minimum terms. He turned around as Home Secretary with a very different blueprint for "mature" prisons.

Security

He reduced prison escapes dramatically. For the six months ending last August, escapes were down to 57, a 60 per cent reduction on last year and 71 per cent down over the last three years.

Reforms

He failed to tackle bureaucracy, swamping government with paperwork and distracting them from running their jails. He is regarded as isolated, and failed to deal with training and career development. Regimes for prisoners were only slightly improved.

The Drug Problem

Policies failed to have much impact and a big question mark hangs over key component - mandatory drug testing.

year and all but one of the objectives set by your predecessor in the first year.

None of that underestimates the extreme seriousness of the escapes from Whitemoor and Parkhurst [jails], but there is a need for performance to be

considered "in the round"...

...It is significant that so many of the Learmont recommendations represent action that has already been taken, was already firmly planned or was proposed to the inquiry by the Prison Service.

I have considered your suggestion in the context of this and against the background of the unanimous confidence expressed in my leadership by the whole board... I was, therefore, unable to accept your proposal that I should resign.

Events over the last 12 months have highlighted the way in which the split between your responsibility for policy and mine for operations has become thoroughly confused...

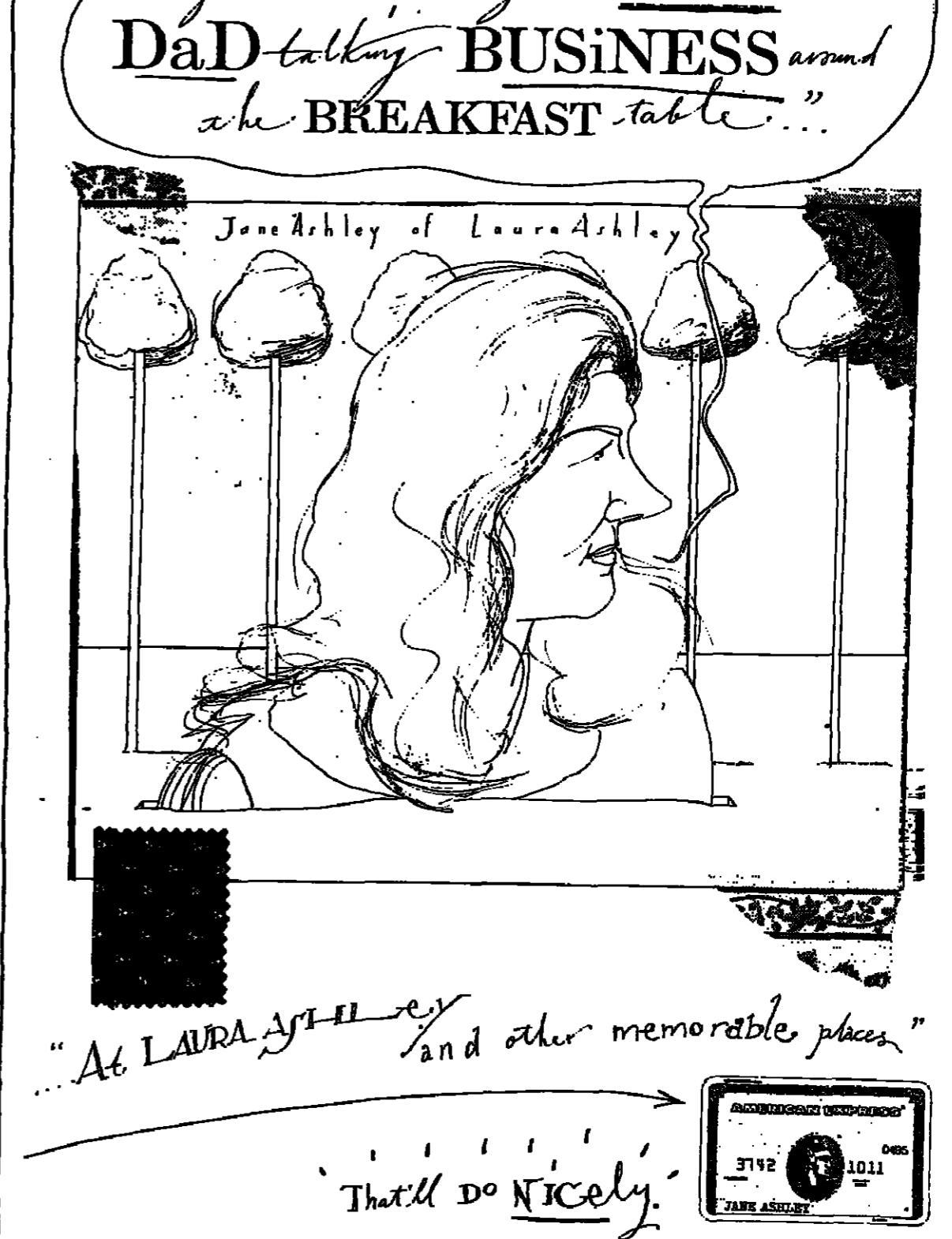
The Learmont report also rightly points to this very high level of ministerial involvement in operational matters. The reports comment on "the personal pressures which the competing demands of the politicians, the media and successive operational incidents must have inflicted on [me]".

It is a great disappointment to me that in the 13 months since the Whitemoor escape, you have required so much paper but have paid so little attention to prisons themselves with only some site visits - fewer than in the preceding 13 months.

What the service most needs at this juncture is continuity, consistency and genuine ministerial support. It is a matter of great regret that you have not chosen to give it that support...

Yours sincerely

Derek Lewis



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4 news

# Tycoon 'constantly tried to stretch the law'



On the defence: Kevin Maxwell arriving at the Old Bailey yesterday where he took to the witness stand for the first time. Photograph: Edward Webb

JOHN WILLCOCK  
Financial Correspondent

Kevin Maxwell took to the witness stand for the first time yesterday to defend himself against charges of misusing pension funds, and described his father, Robert Maxwell, as a "bully" who used "verbal brutality".

After 19 weeks hearing the prosecution case, an Old Bailey jury heard Kevin Maxwell's counsel, Alan Jones QC, outline how he would defend himself. Kevin's brother Ian, who also faces charges of conspiracy to defraud the Maxwell pension funds, listened as Kevin described their father: "I was in awe of him as a child. I was very frightened."

He said his father "was somebody who dominated any business that he was involved in and that domination was partly physical. He was a big man, he had enormous charisma and a commanding presence in a room. Given his weight and bulk he could dominate and did dominate every meeting that he attended".

While Robert Maxwell did not consider himself above the law, the tycoon constantly attempted to "stretch the law as far as it would go".

Kevin and Ian Maxwell, together with Larry Trachtenberg, a former Maxwell finan-

## The Maxwell Trial



Day 78

cial adviser, deny conspiracy to defraud the trustees and beneficiaries of the pension funds by misusing £22m shares in an Israeli company Teva, by pledging them as security for a loan in a vain attempt to prop up the ailing Maxwell empire after Robert Maxwell's death in November 1991. Kevin Maxwell alone denies a similar charge of conspiring with his father to misuse £10m shares in the Israeli company Scitex to pay private Maxwell company debts.

Mr Jones told the jury that the defence would argue that Kevin believed both sets of shares had been legally transferred from the pension funds to the private side of the business empire, Robert Maxwell Group (RMG), before being used for these subsequent deals.

When Mr Jones asked Kevin who he believed the Scitex shares belonged to in July and August of 1991, just months before his father's death, he replied: "I believed they had been transferred to the ownership of RMG. I was told that by my father. I saw an amended version of a contract and I believed those shares to have been transferred."

As for the ownership of the shares in Teva, he said: "Again I believed the ownership of Teva shares had been transferred from Bishopton [which administered the pension funds] to RMG. Again I was told by my father that ownership had been transferred."

Mr Jones also revealed that the defence would be calling evidence "as to how Robert Maxwell met his death". He told the jury that after his father's death, Kevin believed the banks would continue to support him and that an injection of £400m into the group would be forthcoming from an investor.

Kevin's case was that he had believed that while the Maxwell empire was suffering "liquidity

problems" throughout 1991 it was still "savable" because it had a number of very valuable businesses and would enjoy the continued support of its banks. The defence argues that it was the banks that caused the eventual collapse of the group by withdrawing support.

Mr Jones said he was reluctant, because of the widespread press interest, to identify at this stage the witnesses who would be called, but they included Kevin's wife Pandora.

Kevin said his father was "somebody who inspired great loyalty and was a real leader in that sense, a charismatic leader. He wasn't motivated by money, he was motivated by power, the ability to influence events, the ability to make a difference, to change things, not only in this country but abroad".

He would bully his subordinates, he said. "The domination was in part physical, part charismatic, and also he dominated by virtue of his success. The more successful he got the more people were willing to accept his judgment. He was capable of being extremely charming to people, he was capable of being winning but he was also capable of verbal brutality in meetings, public dressings-downs not only of his children but also his senior managers."

Kevin described how his father would hold daily meetings with senior managers at Mirror Group Newspapers. "If any of those managers had the misfortune to be reporting an event that displeased him, the guy would have a strip torn off him and the humiliation would be in public in front of his peers."

People were willing to work for Robert Maxwell despite his bullying nature because of the other, charming side of his character, said Kevin. "There aren't that many top jobs in Fleet Street. How many editors of national newspapers are there? If you are in positions of interest and power in an exciting environment, you put up with a lot."

He even forced senior directors to open mail in the mail room at Pergamon Press and would harangue them if they dealt with it wrongly. "It was his way of imposing control and putting the fear of God into people," Kevin said.

The case continues today.



Dominant character: Robert Maxwell 'bullied subordinates'

## Delia's perfect recipe for another bestseller

RHYS WILLIAMS  
Media Correspondent

The cookery author Delia Smith has stormed the autumn bestseller list with her latest recipe book, *Winter Collection*.

The book has sold 500,000 in its first week, taking it to the top of the hardback list ahead of *Enigma*, Robert Harris's long awaited follow-up to *Fatherland*, and Nigel Mansell's *Autobiography*.

Ms Smith's publishers, BBC Books, had originally hoped the *Winter Collection* would pass the half-million mark by Christmas, but extraordinary levels of demand – fuelled by the interest created by her last big book, *Summer Collection* and vigorous price discounting – should see sales pass 700,000 by mid-November.

Smith's books have sold more than 8 million copies. The *Cookery Course* has never been out of the top 20 since its first appearance in 1978, while *Summer Collection* published two years ago sold more than a million on the back of a television

series, which was repeated this summer. The launch of the *Winter Collection* was timed to coincide with a new television series starting last Wednesday.

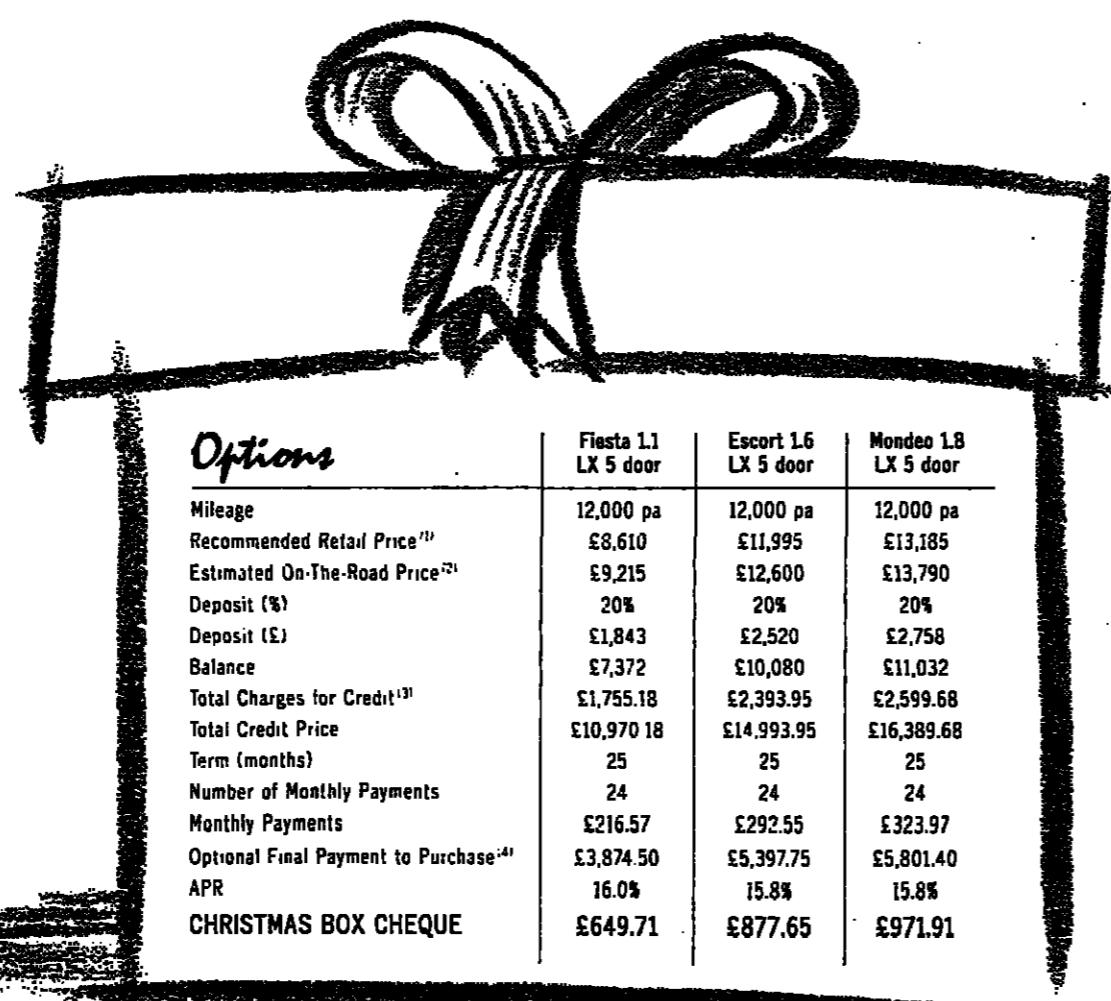
Such has been the interest in her culinary ideas that when she broadcast a recipe for truffle torte in December 1990, listing among the ingredients "liquid glucose (available from chemists)", pharmacies the length and breadth of Britain promptly sold out.

However, there is no doubt that the climate of discounting created by the collapse of the Net Book Agreement has contributed significantly to the pace of the *Winter Collection's* sales. Waterstone's is selling the £15.99 book for £10.99, as are Woolworths and Sainsbury's.

Book Warehouse is offering a discount price of £9.99 – 41p cheaper than small independent shops can buy the book wholesale. This has led to fears that some bookshops will be priced out of business in their key gift-buying season.

Ever so English, page 19

# An early Christmas box from Ford.



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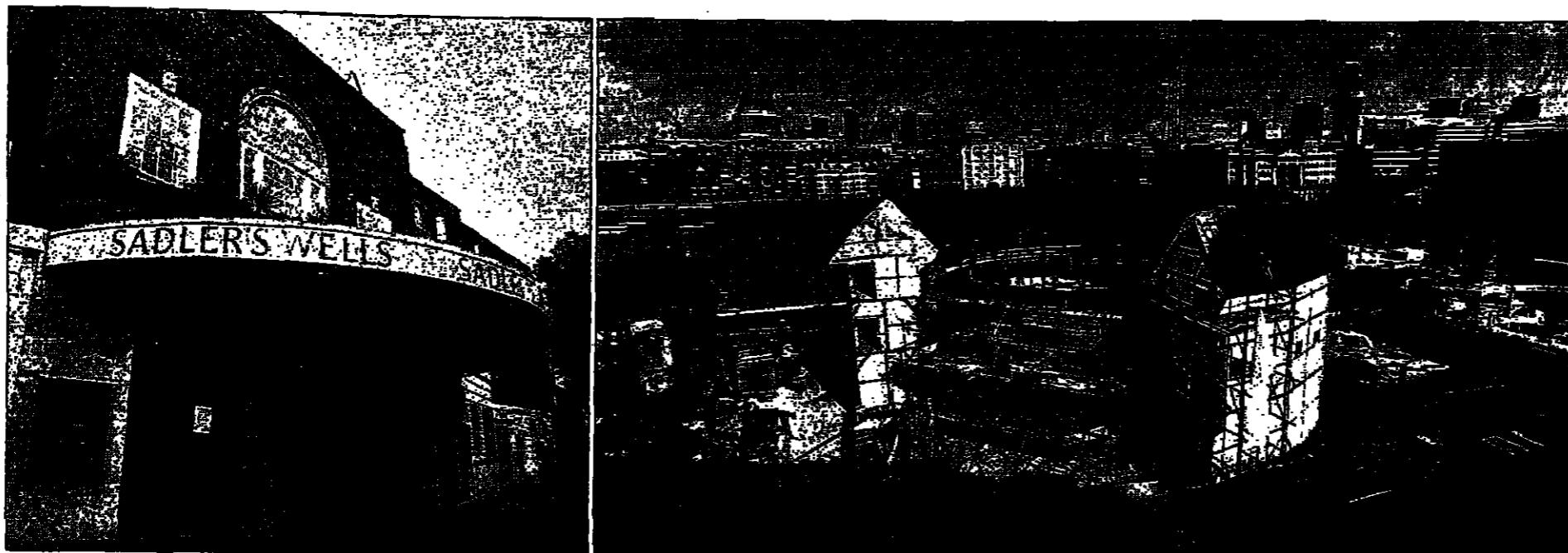
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مكتبة المعلم



Centre stage: £30m will turn Sadler's Wells into the 'theatre of the future', while £12.4m will recreate the Globe (above right) in a Shakespearean past. Photograph: Ed Sykes

## Gowrie defends theatre grants

MARIANNE MACDONALD  
Arts Reporter

The Earl of Gowrie, chairman of the Arts Council, was thrown on the defensive yesterday after a £30m lottery award to Sadler's Wells theatre in London ignited criticism that lottery money was funding the entertainment of "toffs".

The award to Sadler's Wells, one of London's most adventurous dance theatres, was made in the sixth round of lottery grants from the Arts Council, which totalled just under £51m.

Other grants included the delayed £12.4m award to Shakespeare's Globe theatre

to complete the main open-air auditorium; £750,000 to Edewood Productions to film *A Midsummer Night's Dream* under the direction of Adrian Noble; and £1m to Picture Palace Films toward the cost of adapting William Golding's novel *The Spire*.

The £30m grant to Sadler's Wells – the largest since the Royal Opera House won £55m in July – will pay for the demolition of the theatre's flawed 1930s building, which is unisted, and the construction of a hi-tech "theatre of the future" on the same Islington site.

But the size of the grant has weighted the balance of arts lottery funding even more heavily

in London's favour. Since the Arts Council began its handouts in March it has spent £179m, 69.8 per cent of which has gone to the capital. Lord Gowrie acknowledged that the balance would look "rather damning" to anyone outside the capital, but said the pattern would change as more applications came through. He added that a number of "inevitable factors" had caused the early disproportionate spend – including the size of the country, which meant that the biggest cultural institutions were in London, and the fact that big organisations had the staff to process bids fast.

In rejecting the criticism that the award to Sadler's Wells, which boasts Tony Blair's wife Cherie as an honorary adviser, was another example of funding "art for toffs", Lord Gowrie said: "We are not sitting in a tour d'ivoire. We are responding to real bids from real people... it's untrue to say that all rich people like opera, or the upper classes don't like reggae."

His comments were backed by Ian Albery, chief executive of Sadler's Wells, who said that the average price for a seat at the theatre was £10.70. He added: "The key words which inform everything we do are that access must be at prices that artis and labourers can afford."

The work on the 1,500-seat main theatre and the studio

theatre is due to start next autumn – if the theatre can raise almost £9m by then in partnership funding – and will be completed in two years.

Lord Gowrie also announced yesterday that the Arts Council was setting up a "troubleshooting department" to oversee the way lottery money is spent on capital projects. He then surprised observers by announcing that he would be prepared to give lottery funds to all art forms – including reggae bands. The former Minister for the Arts explained: "I look upon culture as existing across a very, very wide swathe."

But Lord Gowrie quashed speculation that it was dancing

to reggae music which had caused his accident at the weekend, in which he cracked two ribs. That had been incurred by getting out of the bath too quickly.

■ Virginia Bottomley, the National Heritage Secretary, has given a clear hint that the National Heritage Memorial Fund is reconsidering its rejection of the Neptune Hall scheme in Greenwich for a grant from lottery funds, following the intervention of Prince Philip, as reported yesterday in the Independent.

Mrs Bottomley said on BBC radio she expected the review to have "a positive" outcome.

Letters, page 18

## Leader of 'Wee Frees' dies

ANDREW BROWN  
Religious Affairs Correspondent

The Moderator of the Free Church of Scotland, the "Wee Frees", has died. The Rev Murdoch Macleod, 60, was minister of the church in Stornoway, which, with 1,000 members, claimed to be the largest Calvinist congregation in Scotland.

The "Wee Frees", who split from the Church of Scotland in 1843 over the state appointment of ministers, are not as rabidly anti-Catholic as the "Wee Wee Frees", the sect from which the Lord Chancellor, Lord

Mackay of Clashfern, was expelled after he attended a colleague's funeral mass.

As Moderator of this year's Assembly, Mr Macleod had to deal with the embarrassment of a visit by Cardinal Winning, head of the Roman Catholic Church in Scotland, who accompanied the Moderator of the Church of Scotland, paying his annual ceremonial visit.

The Cardinal had earlier pleaded the cause of ecumenism at the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, and been denounced by Mr Macleod. "It is shocking



Lord Mackay: Expelled from 'Wee Frees'

## Minister rejects calls for a ban on boxing

LOUISE JURY

The Government yesterday rejected calls for a ban on boxing in the wake of the death of the fighter James Murray.

Iain Sproat, the sports minister, said it was a "terrific sport" and added: "It would be a great shame if this tragic death were to weigh too heavily."

Dismissing Liberal Democrat demands for an immediate royal commission on the sport, he said the British Boxing Board of Control inquiry will also examine whether new crowd control measures are needed to prevent the kind of violence witnessed at the Murray-Docherty fight.

Simon Block, the board's assistant general secretary, said there were very strict regulations for normal public fights and similar rules for "timber fights".

On Friday, 300 spectators were allowed to stand behind the 400 guests who had paid £50 each for a four-course meal.

Mr Block said this was very rare, although not unheard of,

but said: "One of the problems of any governing body is the type of events change. You make legislation to cover the events you're controlling then comes something that doesn't come within the guidelines."

At public matches, crowds are not allowed to drink in the arena. At dinner fights, where they may, there had never been any record of trouble.

He said the Government

should insist that any public money given to the sport was

conditional on a "root-and-

branch" reform. "Perhaps this

should include a ban on punching

to the head, stopping dangerous dehydration... to put

safety first, otherwise boxing

should be banned altogether."

Murray was pronounced dead

on Sunday, two days after his

bantamweight title fight at the

Glasgow Hospital Inn against

Paul Murray.

Drew Docherty, Restituto Espineli died the same day in Manila of a brain haemorrhage.

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**Bogdan was an ordinary man who led a quiet life, loved his wife and got on well with the neighbours. Unfortunately this did not save him from a fate worse than death.**

Bogdan was a lorry driver who lived in a town in the former Yugoslavia with his wife Sofija.

Even after war broke out they were on cordial terms with their neighbours, despite being of a different nationality. Bogdan was not involved in politics. No-one understood why the unmarked police car took him away for questioning. He passed a lie-detector test and was allowed to go home again. Three weeks later two armed men wearing army fatigues, claiming to be policemen, came to his door and took him away at gunpoint. He has never been seen since.

Sofija has tried to find her husband. She went to the police station, to be told Bogdan was not there. She wrote to the Red Cross, the country's Parliament, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, all to no avail. Sofija lives in hope that Bogdan may be alive, but she can't be sure. Four years have passed since his "disappearance". As more years roll by without a word, Sofija's agony will never end. She will be denied the healing power of being able to mourn. That is why "disappearance" often seems a fate worse than death.

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## DAILY POEM

### Afterwords

By Jenny Joseph

When I am not with you  
Why, I may be on the Common;  
I may be on the tube  
On my way home with the throng.

When I'm no longer with you  
I shall be the loser;  
You must not feel a lack;  
Your thoughts are always with me.

My life filled up with yours  
Will come home with the others.

When I am not with you  
And am no longer with you  
After the long release  
O, then I shall hear you singing.

Who knows but thoughts like birds  
May settle down on you?  
One day looking up  
When January smells of spring  
And a blackbird calls from dark air;  
Feeling the sky full of movement  
Who knows but you may think:  
The thoughts of someone who loves us  
Are moving up there?

Jenny Joseph was born in 1932 in Birmingham. Her first collection *The Unlooked-for Season* (1960) won her a Gregory Award and she won a Cholmondeley Award for her second collection *Rose in the Afternoon* (1974). Her Selected Poems was published by Bloodaxe in 1992. Last week she was awarded the 1995 Forward Prize for Best Individual Poem, "In Honour of Love", which appears, like this poem, in her latest collection *Ghosts and Other Company* published by Bloodaxe.

6 news

# Police excluded from Guinness case, court told

JAMES CUSICK

A "star chamber" agreement was made to keep the police out of the investigation into Guinness's 1986 multi-billion pound take-over of Distillers, the Court of Appeal was told yesterday.

On the first day of the appeals of the four men convicted in the Guinness affair, counsel for Ernest Saunders, the former chief executive of Guinness, said the "crux of this case" would be that Department of Trade and Industry inspectors in effect became "evidence gatherers" for a prosecuting team that deliberately excluded the police because they had less investigative power than the inspectors.

Jonathan Caplan QC said that documents disclosed this year - five years after the first Guinness trial - had revealed what he called a "shameless fishing expedition".

In 1986 the DTI first appointed inspectors to investigate Guinness's affairs. The appointments were essentially government-ordered and investigated concerns that "concert party" activities centring on an illegal share support scheme had assisted Guinness in the

takover of Distillers. According to Mr Caplan, the disclosed documents showed that the DTI inspectors were regarded as "more efficient" in uncovering facts than the police, and that the police, at key stages of the investigations, were "kept out" because they had less power than the inspectors.

Under the then law the inspectors had the power to compel those they interviewed to give answers and that failure to do so could end in imprisonment. The legal privileges of avoiding self-incrimination and the right to silence were thus denied by failing to bring in the police at an appropriate time, said Mr Caplan.

In 1990 Mr Saunders, along with the property tycoon, Gerald Ronson, and a former stockbroker, Anthony Parries, all received jail sentences over their involvement in the share price support scheme. The fourth man, Jack Lyons, a leading consultant, received a £3m fine and was stripped of his knighthood.

The appeals - estimated to last a month - are expected to be based on the appellants' claims that they were denied their rights to silence and that the prosecution was not the business of company inspectors.

The trial continues today.

Withholding key evidence from defence counsel.

The appeal is the latest legal battle in the Guinness saga that is so far estimated to have cost the taxpayer £27m.

In court yesterday before the Lord Chief Justice, Lord Taylor, Mr Justice Macpherson and Mr Justice Potter, Mr Caplan argued that as there was a criminal prosecution of people involved in the Distillers takeover then it was wrong for the DTI inspectors and not the police to be involved.

Lord Taylor suggested that Mr Caplan was "sitting on a very narrow fence". He said that all except Mr Saunders were arguing that even when all information was finally gathered there was still no case to argue.

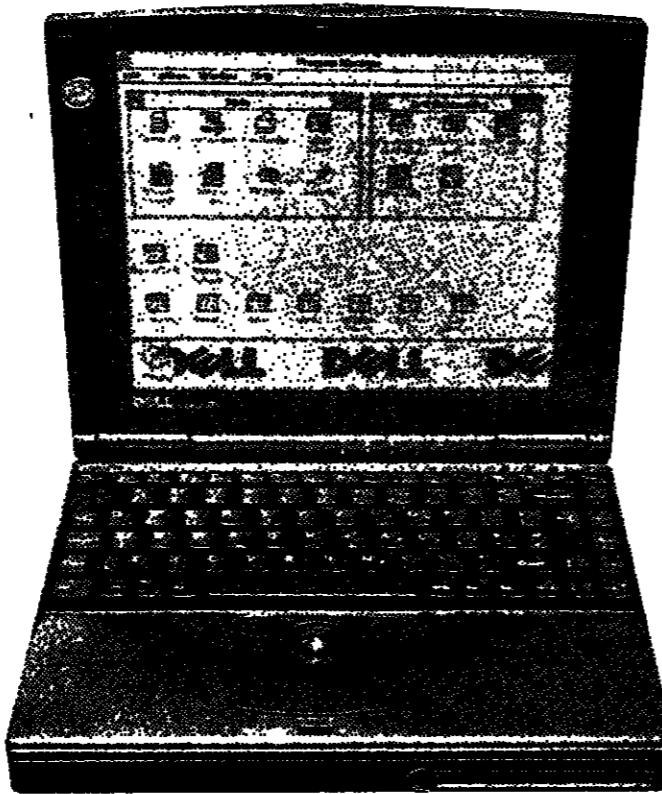
Mr Caplan was highly critical of meetings between the DTI inspectors and the Office of the DPP which took place between December 1986 and March 1987. "We criticised the fact that the inspectors were meeting the prosecution and discussing prosecution matters such as witnesses and evidence. These should never have taken place ... This is the business of the prosecution not the business of company inspectors."

The trial continues today.

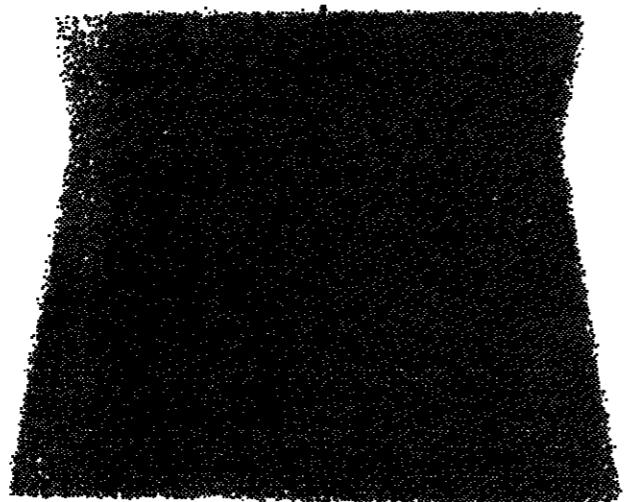


Over the seas: Michael Forsyth, Secretary of State for Scotland, on the controversial Skye Bridge, which he opened yesterday. The new island link to the mainland has meant the end of the legendary ferry service, and locals are dismayed by the size of the tolls. Photograph: Drew Farrell

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## Judges' claims criticised by Labour law chief

STEPHEN WARD  
Legal Affairs Correspondent

The shadow Lord Chancellor, Lord Irvine of Lairg, claimed last night that some senior judges were challenging the constitution by saying they have the right to overturn some laws.

Lord Irvine made the assertions during a speech detailing the developing relationship between Parliament and the judiciary, and the increasing use of the courts for judicial review of government policy.

Speaking to the Administrative Law Bar Association in London, he picked out examples of senior judges challenging the supremacy of Parliament while speaking outside court which all made assertions "contrary to the established laws and constitution of the United Kingdom ... since 1688".

He said: "Recently ... a number of English judges, notably Lord Woolf, have written extrajudicially that in certain purely

domestic circumstances the courts may hold invalid statutes duly passed by Parliament."

The Law Lord, Lord Woolf, had argued that the courts "could justifiably refuse to recognise and give effect to legislative action which sought to undermine the rule of law by removing or substantially impairing the powers of review of the High Court".

Lord Irvine also quoted a speech by the High Court judge Sir John Laws in which he said that the democratic credentials of an elected government could not justify its enjoyment of a right to abolish fundamental freedoms. Sir John had added: "The need for higher-order law is dictated by the logic of the very notion of a government under law ... The doctrine of parliamentary sovereignty cannot be vouchsafed by parliamentary legislation; a higher-order law confers it and must of necessity limit it".

Lord Irvine cited a second

High Court judge, Sir Stephen Sedley, maintaining that sovereignty lies not in Parliament but in the constitution, which consists of a framework of principles, such as democracy and respect for human rights which cannot be denied, even by Act of Parliament."

Lord Irvine said there had been no sufficiently important abuse by Parliament to justify judges rewriting the constitution in this way.

"Many would regard as inconceivable, on the part of any Parliament which we can presently contemplate, any assault upon the basic tenets of democracy which might call for the invocation of the judicial power claimed, and if there were an attack, the judges could probably do nothing about it.

"I am as conscious as any of the need for eternal vigilance. But if there were such an assault, it would surely be on the political battlefield the issue would be resolved."

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**Teaching standards:** Rules for inspectors changed to put more emphasis on what goes on in the classroom

# Schools to be marked on pupil performance

JUDITH JUDD  
Education Editor

Teaching standards in schools will be graded from one to seven and the results published in inspection reports, according to new rules published yesterday.

The rules for inspectors from the Office for Standards in Education (Ofsted) have been produced after complaints that inspectors demand too much paperwork and spend too much time examining the way in which schools are organised.

Reports under the new system will state the proportion of teaching that is very good (grades 1 and 2), the proportion that is satisfactory or better (grades 1 to 4), and that which is less than satisfactory (grades 5 to 7). There will still be no overall grade for schools.

Chris Woodhead, Her Majesty's Chief Inspector, said: "We believe very strongly that in-

spections must focus on standards of pupils and the quality of teaching in schools." The new guidance "is better than the old because it is shorter, sharper and goes to the heart of the matter: the classroom".

Inspectors will have to give examples of successful and unsuccessful teaching methods that they have observed in a school.

The new rules say that judgements about schools' management should be based on the effect it has on raising standards. Inspectors should establish whether heads know what is going on in classrooms and are taking steps to improve it.

Mr Woodhead said that there were no plans to publish overall grades for schools. "It is a balance between giving parents as much information as we have – and bombarding people with too much statistical information."

All reports will have to contain pupils' achievements measured against national targets and the schools' own targets. Inspectors will no longer try to measure pupils' potential – which has proved difficult – but will look at their progress compared with their previous performance. The emphasis in reporting achievements will be

on the core subjects of English, Maths and Science.

Reports must be written in plain English and not according to a predetermined formula. Peter Matthews, head of Ofsted's quality assurance team, said: "Inspectors will be asked to make unequivocal judgements using appropriate adjectives. Reports have been criticised for being too vague and woolly."

Schools will not need to produce as many documents before the inspection. Doug McAvoy, general secretary of the National Union of Teachers, said the reduction in bureaucracy was welcome but added: "These inspections will continue to be a snapshot of what happens in our schools. There are no proposals for follow up support and advice, an essential element previously provided by local authorities but which has been a casualty of the new system."

## New system put to the test

The jury is still out on whether the new, privatised school inspection system has led to better schools. Ofsted began inspecting secondary schools in 1993 and has so far visited just over half of them; primary inspections began a year later and less than a quarter have been covered.

It is still too soon for improvements to be measured, though Ofsted did measure a drop in the number of unsatisfactory lessons between 1993 and 1994 from more than a quarter to less than a fifth.

However, a steady rise in examination results started long before the inspection system was reformed, with the proportion of good grades at GCSE going up by 7 per cent in as many years.

The battle still rages over whether these better results

mean higher standards in schools or lower standards among the examining boards, but while some schools may have cleaned up their acts, others certainly have not.

Labour's education spokesman, David Blunkett, has just revealed that while the top 25 per cent of pupils gain the equivalent of 12 GCSEs at grade C, the bottom 25 per cent get just one. The gap between the best and the worst of our pupils – and our schools – is still far too wide.

Having said all that, inspection has made schools scrutinise every aspect of their lives with a new zeal. Ofsted believes that the very prospect of inspection has increased the mo-

tivation of schools which have not been visited.

There are some examples of improvement through inspection. Crook Primary in Co Durham was given a clean bill of health this year, 18 months after being the first mainstream school found to be failing under Ofsted. But its staff say that their experience – traumatic in the extreme and involving the early retirement of the headteacher on health grounds – should not be repeated.

Experts agree that school improvement is down to the efforts of staff, governors and pupils. Here, Ofsted's new framework can only have a moderate effect. Self-evaluation is still not central to the process. Unless schools play a bigger role, there is a danger that staff will simply heave a sigh of relief when the inspectors de-

part, rather than setting to work on the necessary changes.

Good schools benefit from inspection because they already constantly monitor what they do and are used to making modifications. Failing schools find that a bad report galvanises their local authorities into action on their behalf. But mediocre schools receive little back-up after their inspections and may be left floundering.

Without support, many such schools find it difficult to translate criticism into positive action. Under Ofsted's new regime, inspectors will continue to go into schools, pass judgements and go away. They leave behind staff who feel beleaguered, exhausted, and simply relieved that the whole business is over for another four years.

FRAN ABRAMS



Children at work: Crook Primary, Co Durham, after a traumatic time. Photograph: North News

## Labour policies attacked by GPs

GLENDA COOPER

The Labour Party's policy to abolish GP fundholding would lead to worsening patient care and a growth in private medicine, with a "black market" in health care developing, fundholding GPs said yesterday.

Their criticism came as Bupa, the country's biggest health insurance company, launched the first "private GP" scheme. Subscribers to the scheme, called Health Direct, will pay £6 a month for unlimited advice from GPs over the telephone. Visits will cost £30, with surgeries open as late as 9pm. Patients will meet the full cost of any drugs prescribed.

Aimed at London commuters, the pilot is based in Reading and covers Berkshire, south Oxfordshire and north Hampshire, but if successful it could be introduced nationally.

Dr Ian Bogle, chairman of the GPs committee for the BMA, described the Bupa plan as "bad news" for the health service. "This is two-tierism by ability to pay," he said. "It's an alarming development."

But a spokeswoman for Bupa said the company was "relieving the burden of care on some GP services... Fewer people will be troubling their family doctor."

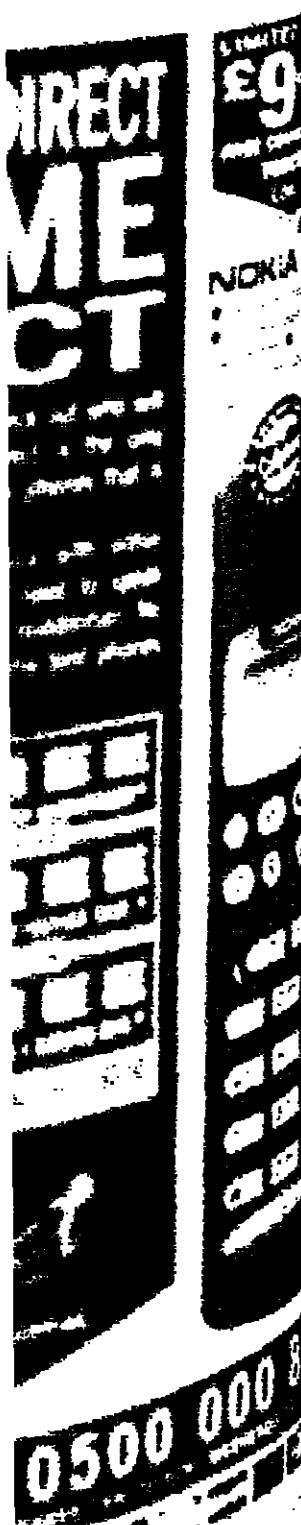
And Dr Rhidian Morris, chairman of the National Association of Fundholding Practices, urged Labour to think again over their commitment to phase out fundholding, otherwise the private sector would be able to take over an increasing amount of primary care.

Fundholding gives GPs, rather than the local health authority, the cash to pay for hospital and community services for their patients. Nearly one in three practices in England and Wales is now fundholding.

Mr Morris said no party had promised more money for the NHS and where strict controls had been imposed in other countries, particularly eastern Europe, "they had developed a black market in health care".

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# 8 politics

**MP's defection:** Loud cheers as Labour's latest recruit crosses the floor

## Howarth wins rebuke in new role

JOHN RENTOUX  
Political Correspondent

Alan Howarth, elected three years ago as the Conservative MP for Stratford-on-Avon, took his seat on the opposition benches yesterday to loud Labour cheers.

While in the Commons, he collected "probably 25" letters from Tory MPs, "not at all endorsing my decision, but people have been kind enough to respect my integrity", he said.

The symbolic moment of crossing the floor of the House - the first time an MP has gone from Tory to Labour - was timed to embarrass Michael Heseltine as he rose to take his first question time as Deputy Prime Minister.

But Mr Howarth later fluffed his first words from the Labour side, being rebuked by Michael Morris, a deputy speaker, for asking six questions instead of one when he intervened in the speech of Michael Portillo, Secretary of State for Defence, whose party conference speech "of extraordinary xenophobia and anti-foreigner prejudice" Mr Howarth said confirmed his decision to change parties.

Mr Portillo returned the in-

sult by noting that Mr Howarth had become "no less verbose in his transition to the other side of the House". But he did not answer his question, about the dangers of British industry depending so heavily on arms exports.

Mr Howarth is the proud possessor of a Labour Party membership card, but is not yet technically a Labour MP, because he is waiting for his application to take the Labour whip to be approved. But he was warmly welcomed by all the Labour MPs he met.

Before his debut in the Commons, he had lunch as an honorary Labour MP under the glare of the television camera lights, with Peter Snape and Dennis Turner, leaders of the West Midlands group of the Parliamentary Labour Party.

Mr Howarth then had to brave the photographers, the compliments of Labour MPs and mixed responses of Tories, as he entered the Palace of Westminster in the Labour interest. "I got up this morning and looked at the tabloids - they informed me I was going to have to run a gauntlet of hate. But it wasn't really like that," he said.

Mr Snape ushered his new

colleague into the tea room, the MPs' inner sanctum, where he "crossed the room" rather than the floor by sitting at the Labour end near the door. "I have never been poured so many cups of tea," he said.

Other practical arrangements

had to be discussed as Parliament reopened for business after the three-month summer recess. Mr Howarth has an office in the Palace, which he is likely to retain. And he said his secretary, Patricia Constant, would be true to her name. Mr Howarth, whose defection was announced the Sunday before Tory conference in an elaborate media operation, already sounds like a partisan Labour MP. Last weekend he accused the Tories of peddling "smears and lies" against him.

Mr Heseltine, the First Secretary of State and Deputy Prime Minister, and his Cabinet Office colleague, Roger Freeman, the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, the nature of the relationship has prompted onlookers to dub Mr Freeman Sooty to Mr Heseltine's Harry Corbett. Labour MPs, back from their summer holidays and their party conference, were not in the mood for the puppet yesterday during Mr Heseltine's long-awaited appearance at his first question time in his new role.

"Sooty" took the first question and Labour MPs shouted "Hezza, Hezza," as he rose for a second time. "No substitutes," they yelled as Mr Freeman insisted he was the minister responsible for deregulation.

Mr Heseltine had glanced up at the press benches with a knowing Corbett-like smile before the proceedings began and as the atmosphere of expectancy mounted. In the event, the last laugh was on Labour. Tory whips had done their best to arrange a united front on the government benches as a succession of right-wing Eurosceptics got up to ask questions.

But a question from Peter Hain, Labour MP for Neath, finally brought Mr Heseltine to his feet after nine minutes. That was the cue for Labour whips, grouped behind the doors of the chamber, to march in the Tory defector Alan Howarth. The slick manoeuvre left Labour MPs cheering for both. Tories watched grim-faced and forgot to hiss as a smiling Mr Howarth settled down on the opposition benches between Eric Clarke and the distinctly old Labour Lin Golding.

## Defector's entrance sweeps away 'Sooty'

■ Labour uses questions to Heseltine to introduce ex-Tory MP ■ Members pay tribute to former prime minister

Mr Hain demanded to know why Mr Heseltine's title on the Commons order paper had been changed from First Secretary of State in the summer to Deputy Prime Minister now. Would it be surrogate party chairman next and shouldn't his salary be partly funded by Central Office - or couldn't Central Office afford it?

Combining his question with a welcome for Mr Howarth, John Prescott, Labour's deputy leader, said: "Since you took charge of deregulation and

### INSIDE PARLIAMENT

Patricia Wynn Davies

competition policy, we've seen

a record number of new regula-

tions, a record number of busi-

ness failures and Britain has

slipped five places in the world

competitive league. Isn't it

about time on your own policies

that the hop-along deputy

shouldn't 'about turn'?"

Declaring the joke "pathetic", Mr Heseltine said he would have hoped a good deal better had he been abandoning his principles and policies, but still felt driven to rake up the past of the junior public service minister, John Horam, sitting a few feet away. "I think there is a better journey," Mr Heseltine loftily declared as if the direction lessened the crime. "That

is the one of my honourable friend ... who saw through the Labour Party long before their own leaders flirted with social democracy and ended up serving his country as a minister in a Conservative government."

Raising a familiar refrain, David Winnick, Labour MP for Walsall North, rose to ask whether Mr Heseltine would re-sign if there was no improvement in government, or was he going to have one more try at getting the job he really wanted.

Mr Heseltine declared that Mr Winnick had overlooked the "cynicism of your own party conference, which saw the leadership of your party denying the record of your party for as long as I've been in active politics - a total and cynical abdication of everything that most Labour MPs believe in". To see the concept of new Labour, with Mr Howarth and Dennis Skinner, the Bolsover leftwinger, on the same side of the House was a "mesmerising thought".

It will go down as one of those Commons shows that never quite lived up to its advance billing ground.

MPs turned to paying their respects to former Tory Prime Minister Lord Home of Hirsch, who died last week aged 92. Leading the tributes, John Major said he was "one of those people who light up politics with their integrity". For Tony Blair, the Labour leader, he was "a man of honour who stayed a man of honour ... not a man from another age, but a rarity in any age".

## Elite forces to form joint rapid deployment unit

CHRISTOPHER BELLAMY  
Defence Correspondent

Britain's fastest-moving elite forces including Royal Marines, paratroopers and elements of the SAS are to be placed under a new command designed to enable them to intervene more swiftly and effectively around the world, Michael Portillo, the Secretary of State for Defence, said yesterday.

The "Joint Rapid Deployment Force" will be available from August next year for operations on behalf of the UK, Nato, the Western European Union - European countries in Nato - or the United Nations.

Rather than cobbling forces together at the last minute in response to crises, the units from all three services, will have

hicles. Support helicopters, Hercules aircraft, naval ships, civilian ships and aircraft may also be available to the force.

The idea for the force was announced by the then Secretary of State for Defence, Malcolm Rifkind, last July. A joint headquarters to mastermind operations round the world is being set up at Northwood, Middlesex. The MoD said recent announcements on the purchase of Chinook and EH101 support helicopters and C-130 Hercules transport planes "all have relevance" to the new force. So do new amphibious ships. The new command helicopter carrier, HMS Ocean, was launched on the Clyde last Wednesday, and is now being fitted out at Vickers Shipbuilding and Engineering at Barrow-in-Furness.



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Hansard

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# Accused Briton fears drug gang will kill family

STEPHEN VINES  
Singapore

John Martin Scripps, the 35-year-old Briton accused of murdering a South African and two Canadians, gave evidence for the first time yesterday in Singapore's Supreme Court.

He claimed that members of his family could be killed by a drugs gang if he revealed the name of an accomplice who, he alleges, disposed of his South African victim.

Mr Scripps, who is also known as John Martin, admitted that he killed Gerard George Lowe, 32, a South African brewery employee who was holidaying in Singapore. However, he claimed that Mr Lowe's body was "disarticulated" by an unnamed British "friend" who he said was an associate from the past when he was doing drugs.

He claimed he would be labelled as a "grass" if he named the man, who he alleges is involved in a number of criminal activities and was supposed to have helped him buy clothes for

a shop that he was opening in Mexico.

Speaking hesitantly, and barely audible, Mr Scripps told the court: "I know what these people are capable of. I just can't give the person's name. It's my life or my family's. I suppose it will have to be mine."

His lawyer, Edmond Pereira, trying to establish that Mr Lowe's murder was unpremeditated, Mr Scripps denied killing two Canadians - Sheila Damude, 49, and her son Darin, 23 - in the Thai resort of Phuket. However, yesterday he admitted - for the first time - that he had met the couple and shared a taxi with them from the airport to the hotel where he occupied an adjacent room, and after they disappeared, moved into their room.

The court has heard evidence that the bodies of the Damudes were expertly chopped up, as was the body of Mr Lowe. A British witness has also testified how he taught butchery skills to Mr Scripps while he was in prison.

However, Mr Scripps said: "I

didn't cut the body up. I've worked in a butcher's but this is totally different."

He claims that he accidentally killed Mr Lowe with a 3.3lb hammer after he woke up to find the South African touching his backside and smiling at him. The two men had met at Singapore's international airport and Mr Scripps said he agreed to share a hotel room with him because accommodation was hard to obtain and he wanted to save money. "I just freaked out," he said. "I've had experience of such things in the past and I was very frightened."

He claimed that an Israeli soldier tried to rape him while he was in an Israeli prison in 1978 for non-payment of a fine. Mr Scripps also said that two men attempted to rape him in prison in Britain last year while he was taking a shower. "I tried to fight. I locked myself in my cell for a couple of days after," he said. "I'm not gay. I don't believe in that sort of thing."

Mr Lowe's widow has testified that her husband is not gay. The trial continues.

## Hansard 'should be on Net'

CHARLES ARTHUR  
Technology Correspondent

The daily proceedings and laws made by Parliament should be distributed freely over the Internet, replacing the present system which sells it commercially for at least £2,500 a year, the Campaign for Freedom of Information says. Its views were backed by the Labour Party, which said it was "judicrous" that the proceedings were not more widely available.

The Campaign also warns that the growing availability of machines which can scan the

contents of documents on to computers means that the copyright of Her Majesty's Stationery Office on parliamentary proceedings will be broken anyway "sooner rather than later".

Maurice Frankel, the Campaign's director, says that HANSARD costs millions of pounds each year, but HMSO, like other government agencies, has come under increasing pressure in the past decade to charge for commercial use of its information. Agencies such as HMSO and the Ordnance Survey generate revenues of about £150m annually from sales of data collected by public funds.

the public computer network. Graham Allen, Labour MP for Nottingham North, said that the party wanted everybody to be able to access the Internet, but he did not promise free access.

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## Givenchy classics bid Paris adieu



Swan song: Givenchy (left) at his final show which featured 'Sabrina' dresses (right)

TAMISIN BLANCHARD  
Paris

Hubert de Givenchy, the 68-year-old couturier who opened the House of Givenchy in 1952, bade his final goodbye yesterday with a collection of the classic pieces that have earned him a loyal following over the years.

Last July, there were tears on the catwalk and in the audience when one of the last great gentlemen of old school Paris couture received a standing ovation for his last haute couture collection. Yesterday, the atmos-

phere at the ready-to-wear collection for spring-summer '96 was not so emotionally charged. And even during his swansong, buyers, clients and press could not help but compare this genial collection with the wild, fantastical and hyped-up show that Givenchy's British successor, John Galliano, presented the night before.

The spirit of Givenchy's great friend and muse, Audrey Hepburn, was with him as the music from *Breakfast at Tiffany's* played to accompany 1950s cocktail dresses with bell-

shaped skirts like those worn by the actress in the film *Sabrina*. There were also timeless column evening dresses that will no doubt continue to be worn and cherished by the women whose wardrobes have relied on Givenchy over the years, long after the new Galliano regime.

For the daytime, there were simple jersey dresses, classic skirt suits and safari-style belted jackets with matching pants. There was also the classic nautical look that women love - soft cardigan jackets and twin-sets in navy and white, worn with wide cream pants. Givenchy has always errred on the side of discreet good taste. He has always shown wearable clothes rather than show-stoppers and the clothes have been more important than the models wearing them. As a characteristically discreet salute to his friendship with Hollywood, there were suits printed with a scattering of stars.

His final bow was as low key and well-mannered as his collections. There was no hysteria, just a quiet and graceful wave goodbye.

Photograph: Peter Macdiarmid

# That depends on how far you're going.

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# Lufthansa

## Strike threat to NHS trusts

BARRIE CLEMENT  
Labour Editor

A hit list of "tight-fisted" National Health Service trusts was yesterday targeted for industrial action over pay by leaders of more than 300,000 nurses and other health workers.

Unison, the largest health union, gave authority for ballots on disruption including strikes at 66 trusts which had failed to offer an increase of 3 per cent "without strings".

The strategy was announced after the union revealed a four-to-one vote in favour of a new bargaining structure which includes both an element of central and local negotiations.

Because national pay rates will be uprated with reference to local outcomes, the union revealed its intention to maximise offers by individual trusts.

Bob Abberley, head of health at Unison, said he was confident that local negotiations would yield 3 per cent, but said he was determined to back industrial action where trusts refused.

Some of the trusts had offered less than 3 per cent, while others had offered the increase to some staff only. Unison calculates that out of 521 trusts, 472 have made offers, 49 had to reveal their intentions and 66 were "unacceptable".

Under an offer this year nurses were awarded 1 per cent nationally with the opportunity to negotiate up to 2 per cent more at local level.

A deal to establish a framework for negotiations in future had attracted "overwhelming" support among the 325,000 members of Unison involved.

In the first part of a two-year cycle, pay rates will be thrashed out locally.

In the second year, however, national minimum rates will be increased in line with local outcomes before further trust-based bargaining.

The Department of Health welcomed the union's endorsement of the formula, but said local offers were a matter for trust managers.

## WASHINGTON PARK

# A 'million' black men march on the capital

**JOHN CARLIN**  
Washington

"There is nothing more painful to me," Jesse Jackson said a couple of years ago, "than to walk down the street and hear footsteps and start thinking about robbery, then to look around and see someone white and feel relieved."

Mr Jackson's famously candid remark goes to the heart of the predicament black Americans sought to address in their Million Man gathering in Washington yesterday. It also went to the heart of my predicament as I ventured, a solitary paleface, into the alien throng.

I was living, on the surface of things, white America's ultimate urban nightmare. Never mind the footstep. I had black men to the right of me, black men to the left, black men behind and black men ahead. Hundreds of thousands of them flowing up and down the mile-long Mall, between the National Monument obelisk and the domed Capitol.

It felt comfortable. Conspicuous was I was hardly anybody gave me a second glance. Those who did nodded and smiled, as if to reassure me. No one muttered a racist comment. I felt as if I'd stumbled into a giant family picnic.

Vendors sold T-shirts, car stickers, necklaces and quasi-African medicinal potions. Every third man appeared to be holding a camera. One posed in front of the National Monument with a fist held high in a black power salute and a big grin on his face. The elderly men sat on the Mall's park benches; some of the younger ones lay down on the grass. A lot were eating hamburgers and hot dogs and chocolate biscuits.

After 10 minutes I saw my first white man, a beggar with three days' growth of beard and a torn baseball cap. He went up to a group of half a dozen young black men. He said something to them. One reached into a bag and handed him an apricot pie.

Then I saw a white policeman reclining on a motorbike. A young marcher greeted him and asked if he would pose for a picture. The policeman said:



Raising their voices: Blacks on the march taking part in a chant during the rally on the Washington Mall

Photograph: Ron Thomas/Reuters

smiled, the young man held the policeman's hand in a comradely grip and another man took the photograph. So much for the all-policemen-are-racists conclusion that black people are supposed to have taken away from the OJ Simpson trial. A couple of other marchers observed the scene with quizzical disapproval, but there was no sign that they planned to exact any retribution, verbal or otherwise.

This was what the T-shirts said: "We've lost more brothers to our own than to the Ku Klux Klan"; "I am my brother's keeper"; "Dare to keep kids off drugs"; "The black man is back"; "If you think all black men are criminals, dope-pushers, wife-beaters ... then YOU'RE WRONG!"; "After

400 years of slavery and oppression we have identified our enemy ... IT IS US!"

Half a dozen white demonstrators were standing under a tree, holding banners saying: "We are against all racism - black and white". Evidently they had a problem with Louis Farrakhan, the anti-Semitic Nation of Islam leader who organised yesterday's event. Black men shook their hands and posed for group pictures.

Attracting almost as much attention was a man in a suit wearing a yellow button which read "Operation Big Vote". He headed out forms and asked marchers to sit down for a minute and register to vote. Other "Operation Big Vote" activists were doing a busy trade all over the Mall amphitheatre.

If there was one thing these marchers were not doing, it was planning revolution. They were not bowing out of the system. They were gearing up to turn out in greater numbers at next year's presidential elections, thereby giving their stamp of legitimacy to the political establishment that some of their leaders so deride.

During the morning warm-ups, speakers whose faces nobody recognised kept up a constant babble. Some of them engaged in a little race-baiting: "We're not at work today. Mr Charlie's gotta find someone else to fix his garden today!" A nice lady from Operation Big Vote explained that "Mr Charlie" usually meant a white cop, but it could also just mean any white guy.

But most early speakers tapped into the benign mood of atonement and spiritual regeneration which, corny as it might sound, was the reason most men gave for turning up.

"The difference with 1963," one said, "is that we're dealing not with a physical problem - not with segregation - we're dealing with a mental and economic problem. We have to go away with a message of love. We have to go home to our families with love." Those listening in the crowd applauded.

Then I spoke to a couple of people. One was called Tom, the other Archie. Tom, 63, said he had been passed over for jobs all his life because of the colour of his skin. "I'm here because I don't want what happened to me to happen to any man of

colour." Was he bitter? "Yes. I'm bitter, real bitter."

It was almost a relief to find someone who didn't sound as if he'd eaten happy pills for breakfast. But then Tom ruined it by saying that he had no problem with white folks in general, just some: "You know, the best friend I ever had was a white man from Brooklyn."

As for Archie, who was 32 and wore black glasses and a raincoat, he insisted that the march was "not about colour". Come again, I said. "No, it's not about colour and it's not about Islam and it's not about Farrakhan," explained Archie, who said he was an unpublished writer of short stories about the urban experience. "We're not going to behave in a racist way and stoop to the level of those

we criticise. It's about dealing with ourselves. It's about recognising that black women have been the backbone of black men for too long. This is about saying to ourselves we must stand up on our own two feet and make our families and our communities fruitful!"

Was it working? "I've never felt this electricity before. You see that guy over there? Ordinarily I would be afraid to catch his eye because he might attack me. Now, look, we smile."

Electricity was not really the word. The atmosphere was too mellow. It was a vast exercise in group therapy. Black American men were feeling good about themselves. They were hearing plenty of black footsteps, and they were not afraid.

RUPERT CORNWELL  
Washington

The Nation of Islam, the sect headed by the leader of yesterday's Million Man March, is in the image of Louis Farrakhan himself: conservative but militant, propounding family values with the zeal of a Dan Quayle, yet ever ready to resort to mysticism, pseudo-science and hate-dripping rhetoric to press its message of black separation.

On the public platform, Louis Farrakhan and his lieutenants denounce Jews and Catholics, claiming that the white race was created 6,000 years ago by a black scientist called Yakub, and that AIDS and drugs are plagues engineered by whites to decimate the black race. As they do so they are flanked by bodyguards drawn from the Nation's own paramilitary guard, called the Fruit of Islam - sinister young men turned out in well-cut suits, gleaming white shirts and neat coloured bow ties.

But even Farrakhan's enemies acknowledge the effectiveness of the programmes against drugs and crime run by the Nation in depressed inner-city neighbourhoods.

The Nation's historic home is New York and Harlem, the fief of Elijah Muhammad, the sect's most famous leader, who died in 1975.

Louis Farrakhan himself joined the Nation of Islam in 1955, a protege of Malcolm X, with whom he later fell out. Malcolm X was murdered in a Harlem ballroom on 21 February 1965.

Upon Elijah Muhammad's death, leadership passed to his son, Warith Deen (Wallace) Muhammad. But he broke with Louis Farrakhan and set up his own group, Al Islam, to which the boxer Muhammad Ali and the recently-freed Mike Tyson belong.

## WIN A LOTUS ELISE

with the  INDEPENDENT



New cars excite such love and loyalty as a Lotus. Launched in 1948 by the legendary Colin Chapman, the Lotus appeal is summed up by its two most famous marques - Esprit and Elan. Now a new thoroughbred joins the Lotus stable, the Elise.

Launched to acclaim at the Frankfurt Motor Show in September, this futuristic two-seater is perhaps their most exciting car ever - and we have one to give away.

Lotus describe their new model as "small, strong, ultra-light, very fast and great fun to drive". The low weight of 675kg benefits

braking, handling and steering response. The adjustable driver's seat gives firm yet comfortable support and the minimalist instrumentation displays clear, immediate information.

Visually the car is stunning, the curvaceous lines set off by unique five-spoke alloy wheels. The light weight and aerodynamic shape makes the Elise a "green" machine, cutting down on fuel consumption and thus carbon dioxide emissions.

The 1795cc 4-cylinder fuel-injected engine delivers a top speed of around 120mph and the Elise, worth approximately £20,000, comes with catalytic converter, engine immobiliser, cloth trim and black vinyl hood.

Lotus are exhibiting the Elise at this month's Motor Show at London's Earls Court and to make it easier to view our prize car, there is a voucher on this page that gives £2 off the normal entry price of £9.

As well as receiving the keys to a Lotus Elise, our competition winner will also get one year's free insurance provided by Norwich Union Club Insurance. This service offers a 24-hour Clubline which, should you have an accident, connects you to a dedicated Club Incident Manager who will take immediate care of the problem.

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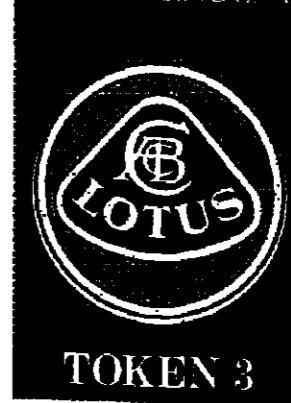
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# e capita

## as a nation examines its racial conscience

**Louis Farrakhan**  
8 October 1995

We are coming to Washington because Washington is the capital of our oppression, and it is the capital of those public policies that ill-affect our people ... We're not coming to beg Washington. Our days of begging white folk to do for us what we could do for ourselves is over.

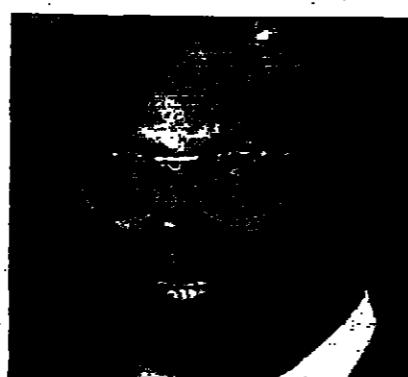
We're coming to Washington to make a statement. Our plea is to Almighty God. Our atonement is to Almighty God. America is dying spiritually, morally, politically, socially and economically, and the black community is as well.

March 1995 speech: "Little Jews died while big Jews made money. Little Jews were being turned into soap, while big Jews washed themselves in it."

30 August column in the *Final Call* (the magazine of the Nation of Islam):

"There is an increasingly conservative and hostile climate growing in America towards the aspirations of black people.

The Contract with America proposed by the Republicans and thus far agreed by the Congress is turning back the hands of time, depriving the black community of many of



the gains made through the suffering and sacrifice during the Fifties and Sixties ...

Aspects of the Crime Bill suggest that

black males will be filling the jails of Amer-

ica and will spend the rest of their lives

working for little or no pay in the new

prison-industrial coalition

The unfair use of the death penalty to

punish the black male is in fact a sys-

tematic genocidal tool being insti-

tutionalized to significantly decrease

the black population.

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**President Bill Clinton**  
16 October 1995

Some of those involved with the march do have a history that is far from its message of atonement and reconciliation ... one million men do not make right one man's message of malice and division. No good house was ever built on a bad foundation, nothing good ever came of hate.

Today we face a choice. One way leads to further hate and bitterness, the other path of courage and wisdom leads to unity and reconciliation ... African Americans have lived too long with a justice system that continues to be in many cases less than just... more African American men are in our correction system than in our colleges ... nearly one in three young black men are in trouble with the law. I'd like every white person here to think how he or she would feel if one in three white men were in similar circumstances. It's fashionable to talk of blacks as some kind of protected class getting more than their fair share of jobs. That is not true. The truth is that blacks make about 60 per cent of what white people do. But blacks must understand and acknowledge roots of white fear. There is a legitimate fear of violence, and violence for white people too often has a black face.



The great potential for this march today, beyond its importance for blacks, is that whites will see a larger truth: that blacks share their goals, and their old-fashioned American values ... white racism may be the black people's burden but it's the white people's problem. We must clean our house. To black citizens I say, I honour your presence in Washington and call on you to build on this. In your house too, racism must be cleaned up. Too many seek to use division for their own purpose. I say, no more; we must be one.

There will be neither rest nor tranquillity in America ... until the bright day of Justice emerges ... But the marvelous new militancy which has engulfed the black community must not lead us to a distrust of all white people ... I still have a dream. It is a dream deeply rooted in the American dream. I have a dream that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed, "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal." I have a dream that one day on the red hills of Georgia, the sons of former slaves and the sons of former slave owners will be able to sit down at the table of brotherhood.

I have a dream that one day even the state of Mississippi, a desert state sweltering with the heat of injustice and oppression, will be transformed into an oasis of freedom. I have a dream that my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will be judged not by the colour of their skin, but the content of their character.

I have a dream that one day the state of Alabama ... will be transformed into a situation where little black boys and black girls will be able to join hands with little

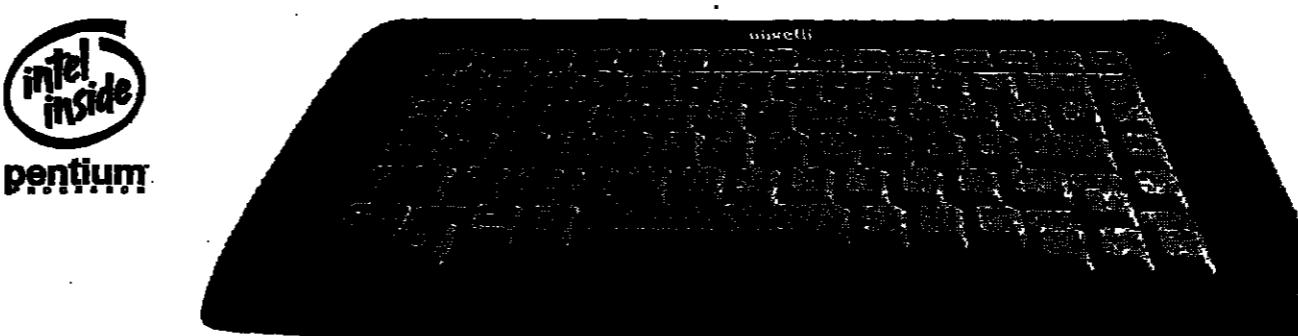
**Martin Luther King**  
28 August 1963



white boys and white girls and walk together as sisters and brothers ...

When we let freedom ring, when we let it ring from every village and every hamlet, from every state and every city, we will be able to speed up that day when all of God's children, black men and white men, Jews and Gentiles, Protestants and Catholics, will be able to join hands and sing in the words of the old Negro spiritual: 'Free at last. Free at last. Thank God Almighty, we are free at last.'

## Bye Bye Big Brother. Welcome Big Buddy.



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## international

Balkan turning point: Zagreb poised for assault on Eastern Slavonia □ Warring armies silence guns in Bosnia

# Croat troops threaten last Serbian enclave

TONY BARBER  
Europe Editor

Croat tanks and troops took up positions only 12 miles from the Serb-held enclave of eastern Slavonia yesterday in what may herald an offensive to recapture the last piece of Croatian territory in Serb hands. United Nations officials in Zagreb said it was premature to predict a Croat attack, but evidence is accumulating that President Franjo Tuđman has decided force is the best way to solve the problem of eastern Slavonia.



Tuđman: Delivering daily warnings of an offensive

At last Saturday's convention of his ruling party, the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ), he said: "We will do everything to restore these areas to the constitutional and legal system of Croatia in a peaceful way, above all because we do not want fresh casualties and because every drop of Croat blood and every Croat life is precious... But if we cannot do this, then we will use all means to which a sovereign state has the right."

The words were almost identical to those Mr Tuđman used before Operation Storm, the offensive last August in which Croat forces swept aside Serb resistance in the Krajina region. Negotiations between the Croatian government and the Serbs of east Slavonia have made little progress, with Croatia

rejecting Serb appeals for a five-year transitional period before the region's final status is settled.

In another hint that an offensive may be imminent, the Foreign Minister, Mate Crnac, said last week: "We are ready for talks with Croatian Serbs from eastern Slavonia, but not for any buying of time. The deadline is firmly decided and is very close now."

Croatia has said it will allow time for negotiations up to 30 November, when the UN peace-keeping mandate in Croatia expires. But Mr Tuđman could strike before then; the peace-keepers' presence proved no obstacle to the Croatian army when it took western Slavonia in May and the Krajina in August.

Mr Tuđman and his HDZ colleagues issue daily warnings of an offensive on eastern Slavonia at rallies for Croatia's 29 October general election. The HDZ is guaranteed victory, partly because of Croatia's military successes, but also because Mr Tuđman rushed through a new election law through parliament last month, tipping the scales in his party's favour.

The law gives the vote to almost 400,000 Croats abroad, most of whom are in Bosnia. Since the HDZ's Bosnian satellite party dominates Bosnian Croat politics, most Bosnian Croats seem certain to vote for Mr Tuđman's party in the Croatian election.

Another more ominous implication of treating Bosnian Croats as part of Croatia's electorate is that Mr Tuđman may be preparing the ground for the merger of Bosnian Croat territory into a greater Croatia. The new election law greatly diminishes the status of Serbs in Croatia, as it guarantees only three seats in parliament for national minorities, down from the previous 13.



Shopping development: Sanela Kelic, a Muslim, rests outside her future boutique in recently retaken Donji Vakuf. Photograph: David Bruckl/AP

## UN general says ceasefire is holding

ANGUS MacSWAN

Reuter

Sarajevo — General Rupert Smith, the UN Bosnia commander, was said last night to be satisfied the ceasefire is holding along 80 per cent of the confrontation line. ... He believes the military situation on the ceasefire does not now jeopardise the overall [US envoy Richard] Holbrooke peace agreement and the proximity talks that are scheduled."

In Moscow, envoys of the Contact Group — the United States, Russia, Britain, France and Germany — mapped out their strategy for the talks on 31 October.

According to Germany, the Moscow meeting will define Russia's role in an international peace force being put together by NATO. The Russians are refusing to contribute troops if the force is solely under NATO command.

well along the confrontation line, and that while fighting continued in the north-west, no land had been gained.

Col Vernon said Gen Smith "is happy that the ceasefire is holding along 80 per cent of the confrontation line. ... He believes the military situation on the ceasefire does not now jeopardise the overall [US envoy Richard] Holbrooke peace agreement and the proximity talks that are scheduled."

There had been concern that the fighting in north-west Bosnia between government and Serb forces was making a mockery of the ceasefire. But the UN spokesman, Lieutenant-Colonel Chris Vernon, said the ceasefire was holding

In Bosnia, Serb leaders were locked in a power struggle as the Bosnian Serb parliament, angry at battlefield losses, demanded the dismissal of generals loyal to the army commander, General Ratko Mladić. A session of parliament in the north-west town of Banja Luka accepted the resignation of the figurehead prime minister, Dusan Kozic, as a scapegoat for military defeats.

The more significant demand for the dismissal of four generals by deputies of the ruling Serb Democratic Party appeared to signal the revival of a power struggle between the Bosnian Serb political leaders of secretly agreeing to withdraw from those areas which the Serbs would have to give up anyway under an international peace plan.

The plan offers the Serbs 49 per cent of Bosnian territory, compared with the 70 per cent that they controlled until late this summer.

A UN refugee official said yesterday that Serb troops appeared ready to finish off a round of forced expulsions of Muslims from Serb-held areas of north-west Bosnia that was interrupted by the recent Bosnian government offensive.

The campaign, spearheaded by the notorious Serb paramilitary leader Zeljko "Arkan" Raznatović, drove out thousands of Muslims from Serb-held areas around Banja Luka, Prijedor, Sanski Most and Bosanski Novi last week.

## Claes in last effort to keep Nato job

SARAH HELM  
Brussels

In a final effort to save his skin, Willy Claes, the Nato Secretary-General, yesterday asked to address the Belgian parliament when it meets probably on Thursday, to decide whether to send him for trial on corruption charges.

Still refusing to heed the growing calls for his resignation, Mr Claes clearly hopes that he can influence the vote in the parliament by protesting his innocence in person, disowning any knowledge of kickbacks allegedly paid by the Agusta helicopter company to his Flemish Socialist Party when he was economics minister.

On Saturday, a parliamentary commission ruled that there was enough evidence against Mr Claes to lift his immunity from prosecution as an ex-minister. The commission's recommendation is now before parliament, which alone has the power to send a minister for trial.

At Nato headquarters yesterday, the alliance's 16 ambassadors, gathering for the first time since the sudden eruption of "Willygate", remained publicly silent about what the secretary-general should do. Privately, officials are making it clear that time has now run out for Mr Claes.

Alliance leaders are intensifying their search for a successor in the expectation that Mr Claes will be gone before the end of the week. At the same time, contenders who want to lobby for the job are beginning to emerge from the shadows.

The front-runner is Uffe Elleman-Jensen, the former Danish foreign minister. He is believed to be pushing his candidature hard and is favoured by the US, as well as European alliance members.

Hans van den Broek, EU foreign affairs commissioner, is also said to be keen on the job, but he is believed in Washington to be too closely associated with what the US regards as the EU's feeble policy towards former Yugoslavia.



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## international

Poverty in rural Portugal still forces parents to set their children to work, reports Elizabeth Nash



Labour of love? Children helping out in the vineyards of the Douro valley, northern Portugal

Photograph: Piers Cavendish/Impact

## Child labour thrives in wine country

Braga — Francisco Jose da Silva was only 13 when he died. The engraving on his headstone, near Braga, in Portugal's northern Minho region, reads: "Jesus called me from this world. My time had come. Destiny was to blame. Not Mr Mora's factory."

The couple, paid for by the employer to mollify Francisco's family, is rare testimony to the widespread but hidden practice of child labour in one of the least developed corners of Europe. Statistics are hard to come by. Trade unionists in Braga reckon there could be tens of thousands, but government inspectors find fewer than 200 a year. Nearly all the 95 factories fined last year for employing children — a civil offence in Portugal — were from around Braga.

The area known as the Vale do Ave has the country's lowest wages, highest unemployment rate, and the densest proportion of women and children in Europe. A rural area famed for its *vinho verde*, the Vale do Ave experienced a boom in factories employing unskilled labour for making and finishing clothes and shoes.

Recession has thrown this precarious economy into crisis. The valley is dotted with abandoned factories, some little more than garages, and the mostly female workers are trickling back to the land. Adao Mendes, of the General Workers Confederation in Braga, said 30,000 jobs in the area have gone in six years.

"A few years ago I had difficulty getting workers during the harvest," said Eulalia Moreno, a wine grower whose vineyard is near Braga. "They preferred to work in the factory. But now they offer to work for me for less than the legal minimum of 52,000 escudos (£260) a month."

She adds: "Two years ago I bought granite paving stones for my patio. The stones were unloaded by children, some only eight years old. Their little hands were calloused, the insides of their nostrils white with dust."

I went with her as she visited the quarry owner's house to inquire about more stone. One of the young sons glanced to the side and said the quarry had been covered with soil seven years ago and was now being farmed.

Amerigo Monteiro, of the Commercial Workers Union in Braga, a member of the National Confederation for Action on Child Labour, said: "There are no clear statistics because the activity is clandestine. As the number of cases discovered increased, the practice has been driven further underground. Government statistics say the trend is downwards, but in my opinion things have not improved."

As factories have closed, Mr Mendes said, families are increasingly doing piece-work at home, out of reach of government inspectors. The employer takes shoe or garment pieces to be stitched or finished in the family home, and collects the products at the end of the week. The parents collude in the illegal employment of their children, not only from economic necessity, but from a traditional belief that it is part of becoming an adult."

Maria Pereira da Lima, who has the sturdy beauty typical of *miminhos* women, has 10 children, aged from 20 to 14 months. They live in a two-room house with cement walls in the village of Britreiros, near Braga. Two of her sons, Gabriel, 13,

and Joao Carlos, 12, worked in a local garment factory for two years until it closed last year.

The boys said they worked from 8.30am to 12.30pm, threading cords through the waistbands of tracksuit trousers, and earned 5,000 escudos a month. They said they liked it, and would jump into the surrounding scrubland when the supervisor came round.

"I let them go to the factory," Donha Maria explained, "because they were secure there and not roaming the streets, getting into trouble. Also they were learning something useful. If they stayed at school they'd only learn English, and what's the point of that? They'll never go to England."

Her daughter, Elisabeth, 20, started in the factory at 12 as a machinist and now earns 75,000 escudos a month, which she gives to her mother. Did Donha Maria regret illegally depriving her children of education? "No. We needed the money. But Elisabeth now says me why I didn't let her stay at school, so I promised that Maria Mamela" — an eight-year-old scrap edges forward — "would stay on, because she's too fragile for factory work."

The governing Socialists are thinking of shifting responsibility for child labour from the labour ministry to that of education. But Mr Monteiro sees no quick fix. "There won't be a solution until families' economic situation is improved, and there is a change in a culture that sees child labour as normal and acceptable," he said.

"People are anxious to hear what he has to say, and especially what his attitude to business will be," said Sean Wood, spokesman for the American Chamber of Commerce, which is billing the portly 51-year-old politician as its featured speaker at tomorrow's meeting.

## Kohl insists on a hard EU currency

TOM HENEGHAN  
Reuters

Karlsruhe — Germany's post-war democracy would be in danger if the European Union produced a single currency that was unstable and inflation-prone, Chancellor Helmut Kohl told the opening session of the Christian Democrats' annual congress yesterday.

Kohl would insist on strict adherence to the tough Maastricht criteria for a single currency, he said, no matter what other member countries wanted. Mr Kohl also promised to throw all his political weight behind the European unity drive.

Delegates saw this as a heavy hint that he wanted to run for re-election in 1998, to see through the planned launch of economic and monetary union the following year. Mr Kohl, 65, has coyly declined to state his intentions.

The Chancellor, recalling how inflation destroyed public faith in democracy before Hitler took power in 1933, said stable money was not "just another issue" for Germans. To loud applause from about 1,000 delegates and guests, including the President of the European Commission, Jacques Santer, he added: "So, dear friends in Europe, it is not some German hysteria if we stress again and again ... that the Maastricht treaty stability criteria must be maintained and not questioned.

This is a question of the very destiny of German democracy, [as we can see] from the experiences of the century now drawing to a close."

Arguing that Germany had to push for a united Europe, Mr Kohl said: "No matter what is being whispered in the corridors of power in European capitals or being said in parliaments, we are sticking to this course."

Mr Kohl, who often departs from his prepared text, left out a passage warning that Germans could turn away from their traditional pro-European stand if the EU's monetary union produced an unstable and inflation-prone currency. But delegates said his *ad hoc* warnings about threats to German democracy and Europe drifting apart if it did not follow the Maastricht timetable made his appeal just as dramatic.

Under the Maastricht treaty, EU member countries must trim their deficits to 3 per cent of gross domestic product and cut total debt to a maximum 60 per cent of GDP; but there is no provision for assuring these levels are maintained after EMU's planned start in 1999.

Delegates said the Chancellor's oratory showed he wanted to run again in 1998, although he sidestepped the issue in his speech. Mr Kohl, Europe's longest-serving leader, is all but unchallenged, both within his party and in Bonn, after 13 years in power.

ANNIKA SAVILL  
Stockholm

Sweden's Social Democrats launched a strategy to save their prime minister-in-waiting yesterday. Mona Sahlin, defending herself against allegations of misuse of a government credit card, declared she would stay on as number two in the cabinet and would still run for the party leadership if "the party wants me to and if I want to".

Senior members of the party, reluctant to give up on the young and charismatic Ms Sahlin as Sweden's first woman prime minister, issued statements of support. Ms Sahlin then displayed all her media skills as she faced the press alone and denounced a tabloid campaign about her private finances. Asked if she would remain as Deputy Prime Minister, despite an investigation by public prosecutors, Ms Sahlin replied: "Of course. People are innocent until proven guilty."

Ms Sahlin, 36, who insists she paid back the government every krona each time she used the card, offered a passionate self-defence. "I may be careless with my life, but I'm sure as heck not careless with my politics ... and I'm sure as heck not dishonest. I fell behind on my finances in the 1980s. I did credit cards. I'm not alone in that."

She said she had been through campaigns against her



before, "including faeces and condoms in the mail, and yet I have loved every second of my life in politics".

She said that to succeed Ingvar Carlsson, when he retires in March, "I would need a lot of support. To me that means a vast, vast majority of the party. But that is not enough — it also depends on what I want and what my family wants."

It also depends on prosecutors clearing her of any criminal offence. As legal opinions differ on the legality of borrowing on the government card, and other politicians may have been following the same practice, a clean bill for Ms Sahlin appears quite possible.

## Sweden's would-be PM fights charges

# Russia's red rising star worries West

PHIL REEVES  
Moscow

Several hundred American businessmen will converge tomorrow in a Moscow hotel to listen to a man who not long ago would have been about as appealing to the average capitalist as the tax inspector. But these days few serious players in the new Russia would miss the chance to find out more about Gennady Zyuganov, the country's most powerful Communist.

Four years after the collapse of the Soviet Union, the fortunes of once-reviled Communists are rising, so much so that they and their allies are expected to emerge as the strongest political group in December's parliamentary elections.

Opinion surveys place Mr Zyuganov's party in the lead, comfortably ahead of the democrats and anyone associated with the unpopular President, Boris Yeltsin. This month Communists swept the board in local elections to the central city of Volograd. Even his political opponents admit Mr Zyuganov is doing well; few would be surprised to see him running for president when Mr Yeltsin's term expires next year.

"People are anxious to hear what he has to say, and especially what his attitude to business will be," said Sean Wood, spokesman for the American Chamber of Commerce, which is billing the portly 51-year-old politician as its featured speaker at tomorrow's meeting.

Anxiety is understandable, as the record of Mr Zyuganov's party is contradictory. On one hand, he is seen as a moderate whose aides have gone to pains

to disassociate him from his party's policies, which have a strong nationalist flavour, appeal to democratic palates: its brochure talks wistfully of returning to the former Soviet Union, reversing privatisation and restoring price controls. Yet it has more members (it claims 550,000) than its rivals, and enjoys the advantage of a grassroots organisation — a legacy of Soviet times. Its support is strongest among the elderly, who are expected to vote in disproportionate numbers.

The prospect of a Communist resurgence last week prompted Yegor Gaidar, a leading reformer, to issue a passionate warning. Do not assume that Russians' reforms are irreversible or that the Communists are benign, he said: "The party is shifting not from red to pink but from red to brown" — a reference to Mr Zyuganov's strategy of appealing to Russia's popular nationalist sentiments.

"If our Communist Party were a good, charming reformist party of a social-democratic nature," he went on, "then I would not attach any importance to the elections. But it requires enormous ignorance to confuse our Communist Party with the reformist parties of Eastern Europe."

The Communists might not be able to do much damage; the State Duma (the lower house) has limited powers. But Western diplomats admit to having no real idea what would happen if Mr Zyuganov were to become the top man in the Kremlin.

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## international

# Saddam fails to win 0.04% of vote

PATRICK COCKBURN  
Baghdad

A pigeon accidentally shot by a supporter of Saddam Hussein lay flapping on the ground in the courtyard of a block of flats in central Baghdad. It had mistimed its flight to coincide with the announcement that 99.96 per cent of the Iraqi people want Saddam to be their president for the next seven years.

The block is largely inhabited by members of the ruling Baath party, who ran to their balconies to fire their sub-machine guns and pistols into the air in celebration. Children sang songs in praise of President Saddam and some of their parents tossed money into the air. This is not as expensive as it would have been a few years ago, since the Iraqi dinar has fallen from three to the US dollar to 2,000 today.

Throughout the referendum, in which 8 million Iraqis trooped to the polls, Saddam Hussein remained largely invisible. The pictures on Iraqi television which show him waving to enthusiastic crowds are about five years old. There is a change, however, in the way in which the presenters refer to him. When President Saddam's name is mentioned they now invariably add: "May God preserve him and protect him." Only the Prophet Mohamed traditionally receives such treatment.

Iraqis normally see their leader on the nightly news as he receives foreign dignitaries. But they are few and far between these days, and include people of dubious diplomatic significance. The only person of any notoriety to travel to Baghdad in the last few days has been Vladimir Zhirinovsky, the Russian nationalist politician. His bizarre presence underlines Iraq's political isolation. He gave an interview to Iraqi television dressed up as an Arab sheikh and looking like an ageing Colonel Gaddafi. He saw Saddam Hussein for five hours, saying afterwards: "I talked for four of them." At the al-Rashid hotel, Mr Zhirinovsky's bodyguard angered other guests by ordering them out of the lift



Fired up: An Iraqi man celebrating Saddam Hussein's referendum victory in the traditional manner as his wife covers the ears of their child

whenever the Russian delegation was using it.

There may have been a moment when President Saddam thought that the Gulf war coalition would break up. Russia and France would successfully oppose sanctions; Turkey would become restive about the loss of Iraqi trade. But if anything, the embargo is getting tighter. There are few trucks on the lifeline through Jordan and Jordanian customs have got much tougher on smuggling.

At the same time, Iraq is not starving. There is malnutrition, but the government rationing system still works. The fields along the Tigris and the Euphrates are full of farmers and there are more fruit and vegetables in the market than before sanctions. A kilo of figs costs about 18 pence but apples, which are grown beyond the Iraqi line in Kurdistan, cost sev-

eral times as much. "Apples are for the rich," said one shopper.

This may explain why Iraq has rejected the UN Security Council plan for a limited sale of Iraqi crude oil under the partial control of the UN. Diplomats here argue that this shows Iraq still has the hard currency in secret foreign accounts to pay for just enough food to get by.

There are few overt signs of resentment. The only one in recent weeks was a bomb under the car of a diplomat at the Russian embassy - he had gone into the embassy a few minutes earlier. Moscow used to be a firm ally of President Saddam, and although it has done little for him in the last five years, nobody in Baghdad knows why its embassy should have been singled out for attack.

Sunday's referendum proves nothing but that the government has administrative

control, but it is no closer to breaking out of the political and economic siege than it was after it invaded Kuwait in 1990. A weak Iraq suits too many interests. Neither the US, Saudi Arabia nor Kuwait wants radical change in Baghdad, even if they want a new man at the top.

Ordinary Iraqis have a sense that they are at the mercy of forces over which they have no control, and most are just scraping by. Open-air markets have developed in Baghdad as people buy and sell anything from furniture to piles of rags and broken plates. This makes it a

more human city than at the height of the oil boom, but also a despairing one. After eight years of war with Iran followed by the embargo and the Gulf war, there is very little hope left. The only real ambition of most Iraqis is to survive.

Leading article, page 18

## Ciller cobbles up yet another coalition

Ankara (Reuters) — The Turkish Prime Minister, Tansu Ciller, moved towards patching together a temporary coalition government with her former social democratic partners yesterday in an attempt to stay in power until early elections.

"We have arrived at a certain agreement in principle on forming a coalition," she said after meeting the Republican People's Party (RPP) leader, Deniz Baykal. Ms Ciller later met

hardline police chief, Necdet Menzir, for 40 minutes, but it was unclear if he had given his approval for her proposed government. Mr Demirel was to meet other party leaders last night.

On Sunday the Prime Minister lost a vote of confidence in her 10-day-old minority government, which she had put together after the collapse of her coalition. Thirteen of her True Path Party deputies opposed her.

The resignation of Istanbul's

points. Long one of West Africa's more stable nations, its economy is based on lucrative exports of cocoa and coffee, boosted by huge injections of French aid.

For over three decades after independence, the presidency was held by the legendary Félix Houphouët-Boigny. The end of one-party rule in 1990 changed little, even though his death in 1993 was preceded by a slump in commodity prices fell. But the economy bounced back after the IMF and the World Bank engineered a 50 per cent devaluation of the French-backed Central African Franc in January last year.

In the absence of any real issues, the electoral code has become a symbol of everything the opposition would like to see changed, said one Western ambassador in Abidjan. "What they really want is new political blood, the end of corruption in government and a more open political dialogue."

The danger is not that Mr Bedie or his party might lose the elections. It is rather that his mandate to rule will be diminished if, in response to the opposition boycott, only a small percentage of the electorate turns out to vote.

Whatever the outcome, it is not expected that foreign investment will be affected. With an economic growth rate of 6.5 per cent expected for this year, Ivory Coast can boast the most vibrant economy in West Africa. "Productivity is up and there's room for expansion," says Pierre van den Boogaerde of the IMF in Abidjan. "Foreigners are beginning to look at this place seriously and this interest is, for the first time, going beyond the traditional French market to include the rest of Europe and the United States."

Bolstered by the robust economy, it is hard to imagine that President Bedie has that rough ride ahead of him. But he seems to have an ability to erect his own obstacles without prompting from the oppo-

## Ivory Coast leader stirs up his own opposition

DAVID ORR  
Abidjan

Opposition activists defied an Ivory Coast government ban on street rallies yesterday, marching through the town of Gagnoa demanding a boycott of Sunday's presidential election. Barricades were erected to halt traffic and piles of tyres and cars were set on fire, but the security forces stayed away.

The socialist-leaning Ivorian Popular Front (FPI) and the Rally of the Republicans (RDR) - which broke away from the ruling Democratic Party (PDCI) last year - want the election postponed. They argue that the government should withdraw a new electoral law whose main victim has been the former prime minister Alassane Ouattara.

President Henri Konan Bedie has said there is no question of revising the law, which requires presidential candidates to have two Ivorian parents and to have lived continuously in Ivory Coast for five years. That rules out Mr Ouattara, the choice of the RDR, on two counts: his father was born in what is now Burkina Faso, while he has been working with the International Monetary Fund in Washington since last year.

While Mr Ouattara has been keeping a low profile, the FPI leader, Laurent Gbagbo, has become increasingly vocal in his calls for protest action. Demonstrations held earlier this month were the most violent seen in Ivory Coast since independence from France in 1960. Five people were killed in clashes with the security services.

Sunday's presidential poll and legislative elections on 26 November would normally have passed off without a murmur. Politics in Ivory Coast have usually been a placid business with few of the ethnic troubles which beset other African coun-

tries. Long one of West Africa's more stable nations, its economy is based on lucrative exports of cocoa and coffee, boosted by huge injections of French aid.

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Houphouët-Boigny: He still casts a shadow

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### IN BRIEF

#### Arafat frees his Hamas political rival

Gaza City — Yasser Arafat released a senior leader of the Muslim militant group Hamas as part of intensifying ceasefire negotiations with his political rivals. The Hamas leader, Sheik Ahmed Bahar, had been arrested in June after a series of suicide bombings carried out by the group in Israel. The Lebanese army went on alert in south Lebanon amid fears of possible retaliation to guerrilla attacks that have killed nine Israeli soldiers since last week. General Antoine Lahd, chief of Israel's South Lebanon Army (SLA) militia ally, after talks with the Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin in south Lebanon, said Lebanon would "pay the price" if anti-Israeli guerrilla attacks continue. AP

#### Cameroon to join the Commonwealth

Yaoundé — Cameroon, the former Anglo-French territory in West Africa, took the day off yesterday to celebrate the news that it is to become the 52nd member of the Commonwealth on 1 November. President Paul Biya will join the Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting in New Zealand next month. Reuter

#### Disgraced troops invaded royal suite

Toronto — A former member of Canada's disgraced and disbanded Airborne Regiment says he and fellow commandos ransacked a high-security royal suite at a Quebec City hotel during a visit by Princess Margaret in 1980. The regiment was disbanded after disclosure of several incidents in Somalia, including the torture and killing of a Somali teenager. AP

#### Two more killed in Kenya ethnic riots

Nairobi — Riots erupted for a second day inside the Kibera district in the Kenyan capital and two people were killed. Two were killed on Sunday, triggering fighting between Luos and Nubians in the slum where 300,000 people live. It had political overtones as Luos dominate the Ford-Kenya opposition party while Nubians are seen as supporters of the ruling Kano party. Reuter

#### 'Bomber' film star released on bail

New Delhi — Sanjay Dutt, an Indian film star jailed for two years in connection with 1993 explosions in Bombay that killed 317 people, was ordered to be released on bail. The Supreme Court overruled a lower court, which had denied him bail. AP

#### Edison's first voice recording found

West Orange, New Jersey — Curators cataloguing millions of documents and devices that Thomas Edison left behind have turned up the earliest known recording of his voice. The wax cylinder was apparently made in 1888, when Edison was 41. AP

## obituaries/gazette

# The Ven Sam Woodhouse

It was a great surprise to Sam Woodhouse — and always remained so — when Robert Stopford offered him the Archdeaconry of London in 1967, and it caused some ruffling of feathers in the senior clerical dove-tail in the London diocese. But Stopford had chosen wisely, and when Woodhouse retired 11 years later he was probably the best-loved Archdeacon in living memory — though for all his gentle manner he had an iron core of steel.

Son of a cavalry officer turned parson — he was a brilliant horseman — Sam Woodhouse never threw off the image of a country gentleman, nor

would have wanted to, but those who could see no further than that missed half the man. For he was that unusual mixture of someone whose totally traditional exterior masked a mind that was open and receptive to the ferment of new ideas which were enlivening the Church of England in his day.

A man of many parts — as a mountaineer he got as far as Camp One in an early Everest expedition — he trained originally as an architect under Herbert Baker, before following his father into the Army, where he was commissioned into the Somerset Light Infantry. Before long, however, he felt like his

father, the call to ordination, and went to a curacy in Lancaster, where he met and married Pat Daniel, who was to be the foundation of his extremely happy family life.

The Second World War began in the year of their marriage and, rejoining the Army as a chaplain, Woodhouse saw service in the Middle East and Italy, being mentioned three times in despatches. After living in Blackpool and Leominster, he came in 1957 to be Rector of Bristol City Parish Church (St Stephen's) for 10 years, which was his major job before London, and where he is still warmly remembered.

The clergy of the City, which

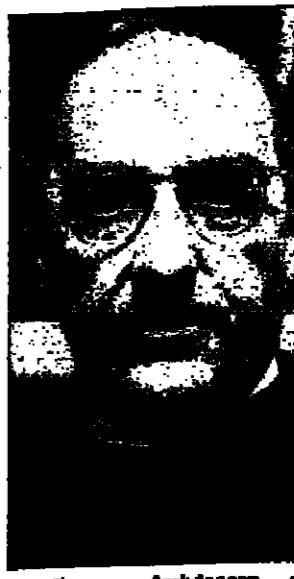
was Woodhouse's sole charge when he started, are well known for their individuality, but few if any of them were able to say "No" to him. With its 40 or so churches — mostly by Wren — every one of which was an architectural gem, his early training proved immensely valuable, and he was able to give full rein to his artistic side. He threw himself wholeheartedly behind Peter Palumbo's generous gift of the Henry Moore altar to St Stephen's, Walbrook, and though he hated divisions and controversy he could not but be pleased when the objectors were overruled.

Unhappily the reorganisa-

tion of the diocese in the mid-Seventies added three deaneries to the Archdeaconry (44 parishes in Westminster and Paddington), which increased the burden on him enormously, so that he returned somewhat earlier than he might otherwise have done. But he continued to serve for a number of years as an energetic Chairman of the Retired Clergy Association until increasing ill-health forced him into complete retirement.

One of Woodhouse's two sons has followed him into the Church, and both his other son and his daughter have followed artistic careers.

Derek Hayward



Woodhouse, Archdeacon of London from 1967 to 1978: the image of a country gentleman

## Gary Bond

Gary Bond was one of the most enduringly handsome actors of his generation. He was also a resourceful and sensitive performer of wide range and polished technique. But perhaps in the dramatic era of the kitchen sink and, in John Osborne's cutting phrase, the "white tile" university, such dazzling good looks were no longer quite at such a premium.

Bond also possessed a strong, warm and pleasing tenor voice; and he earned his greatest fame in musical theatre, notably in the works of Andrew Lloyd Webber. This phase of his career achieved its peak in the revival last year of *Aspects of Love* at the Piccadilly Theatre, and subsequently on tour. In this second production Bond finely recreated the role of the philandering hero, George Dillingham, causing mild shock to his admirers who, accustomed to Bond's perennial youthfulness, found it somewhat surprising to see him interpreting the role of a loveable roué in his sixties.

Bond was born in Hampshire in 1940, the son of a soldier, and educated at Chichester's College, Petersfield. His father, who wanted a steady career for him, died when Bond was 16, leaving him free to pursue his ambition to become an actor.

He trained at the Central School of Speech and Drama and at the age of 23 got his first job in that forcing-house of young talent, the Connaught Theatre, Worthing. The play was *Not in the Book* and was followed by *Doctor in the House*, in which Bond took the role of the light-hearted Dr Simon Sparrow. A year later he appeared at the Royal Court Theatre, London, as Pip in Arnold Wesker's *Clouds with Everything*, one of the theatrical landmarks of the Sixties.

Bond was a natural charmer and the combination of his good looks and debonair manner made him ideal casting in light comedy and in romantic leading roles. These included John Shand in J.M. Barrie's *What Every Woman Knows* (1967), Giles Cadwallader in



Bond with Millicent Martin in Noel Coward's *Red Peppers*, at the Fortune Theatre, London, in 1971.

(1983), a study of marital turmoil that transferred from the Lyric Theatre, Hammersmith, to the Duchess Theatre, he found an unexpected edge of anger and frustration. In 1982 he played Otto in Noel Coward's *Design for Living* opposite Maria Aitken at the Globe Theatre, Shaftesbury Avenue. At the Chichester Festival Theatre in 1988 he appeared opposite Keith Michell in *The Bacchae Scandal*, which transferred to the Theatre Royal, Haymarket. And in 1992 he appeared as the Count in a revival of Jean Anouilh's *The Rehearsal* at the Garrick Theatre.

For one so obviously photogenic it was curious that Bond did not have a more substantial career in films and television. In his first television role in 1963 he made a poignant young suitor to Natalia in Granada's production of *War and Peace* and in 1964 he won an important role in the film *Zulu* playing opposite Michael Caine and Stanley Baker. For BBC Television he was Pip in *Great Expectations* and the young suitor in *Anna Karenina*; and in 1968 for Thames Television he took the role of a young Indian army colonel in the military adventure series *Frontier*. But it was in the

theatre that he chose to make his real mark.

Alan Bond had a twinkling humour and a sometimes wicked sense of fun. His easy warmth of manner made him a popular figure among his friends and fellow actors. For 16 years he shared his home with the distinguished American artist and illustrator E.J. Taylor, who sustained him through a long and painful illness.

Derek Granger

Gary James Bond, actor, singer, born Liss, Hampshire 7 February 1940; died Ealing, London 12 October 1995.

## Helen Vlachos

Eleni Vlachou, or Helen Vlachos as she became known to a wide audience in Britain during the colonels' dictatorship of Greece from 1967 to 1974, was a publishing legend in Greece, a land of avid newspaper readers.

She was born in 1912, daughter of Georgios Vlachos, a prominent royalist and the founder in 1919 of *Kathimerini*, Greece's nearest equivalent to a newspaper of record. Although she wrote for the newspaper before the Second World War (*inter alia* she covered the 1936 Berlin Olympics), her journalistic reputation was made by her pithy political column under the byline "E", which was launched when *Kathimerini* resumed publication in 1945, after the end of the German occupation.

On the death of her father in 1951 Vlachos assumed control of *Kathimerini*, launching its afternoon stablemate, *Mesimerini*, in 1961. She was also the driving force behind *Eikones*, Greece's first mass-circulation illustrated magazine, and a pioneering cheap, but high quality, paperback imprint, Galaxias, many of whose volumes retain their value even 40 years later.

Under her ownership *Kathimerini* and *Mesimerini* offered steady, if not always uncritical, support for the Right in Greece. Vlachos's finest hour undoubtedly came with the establishment of the colonels' dictatorship in April 1967. She did the usurpers a crushing blow by immediately and without hesitation closing down her presses in protest against the coup and the ensuing censorship, thereby delivering a devastating blow to any hopes the junta may have entertained of co-opting elements of the constitutional Right in their support.

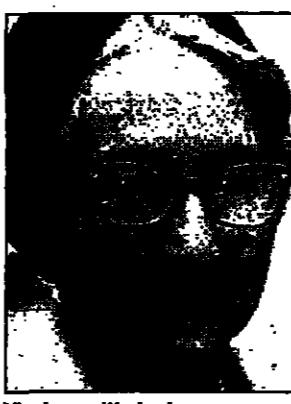
Although the presses were silent, Vlachos continued to hold court in the *Kathimerini* building in Socrates Street, in Athens, and to ridicule the pretensions of the military usurpers who proceeded to misgovern Greece by means at once brutal and absurd.

Her description (wholly deserved) of Brigadier Stylianos Pattakos as "a clown" and other outspoken criticisms of the regime led to her being placed under house arrest in October that year.

From this site made a daring escape in December 1967, a few days after King Constantine's abortive counter-coup. She dyed her hair with shoe polish and travelled on a false passport; her arrival in London was the occasion for a further blast of anti-junta publicity throughout the world.

Unlike the leading politician of the Right, Konstantinos Karamanlis, who, while making his distaste for the junta clear, for the most part chose while in exile to keep his own counsel during the seven years of the dictatorship, Helen Vlachos immediately immersed herself in a non-stop publicity campaign against the colonels, a struggle in which she was joined by two other redoubtable women opponents of the regime, Melina Mercouri, the actress, and Amalia Fleming, the Greek widow of penicillin, Sir Alexander Fleming.

This formidable troika proved more than a match for the buffoonish and self-important colonels. Vlachos's graphic account of life under the junta in the months before her escape, *House Arrest*, was published in 1970.



Vlachos: witty bars

As editor in London of the *Hellenic Review*, a lively and well-informed émigré journal, she acquired a copy of a report sent by the colonels' PR man in London to his masters in Athens. The leaking of this document, which revealed, among other things, that a British Labour MP had been employed as a lobbyist, caused an immense furor. This not only ruined an important element in the colonels' expensive propaganda campaign but gave powerful impetus to the establishment of the Register of Members' Interests in the British Parliament.

Perhaps Vlachos's greatest service to the cause of democracy in Greece was as a broadcaster much in demand for her witty bars, expressed in fluent and idiomatic English, against the junta. She was very well aware that for a British audience ridicule was a much more effective weapon than hyperbole.

On the downfall of the colonels' regime she returned to Athens and in 1974 restarted production of her newspapers. She was appointed a state deputy for the ruling New Democracy Party in the first democratically elected post-coup parliament. She also became president of the Association of Greek Newspaper Publishers.

In 1987 she sold *Kathimerini* to George Kostokas, the would-be newspaper and banking tycoon, whose business empire soon afterwards collapsed in a welter of scandal and corruption.

Vlachos's 60-year career as a journalist was wittily recounted in a multi-volume memoir, *Dimostigrafeika Chronia: pentida kai kai... (Journalistic Years, Fifty and more...)* published in the early 1990s.

Richard Clogg

Eleni Vlachou (Helen Vlachos), publisher, born 18 December 1912; publisher, *Kathimerini* building in Socrates Street, in Athens, and to ridicule the pretensions of the military usurpers who proceeded to misgovern

## Susan Fleetwood

I met Susan Fleetwood during the filming of *Andrei Tarkovsky's The Sacrifice*, writes Layla Alexander Garrett (further to the obituary by Adam Benedict and Peter Eyre, 2 October). In October 1984 I came with Tarkovsky to London to cast a British actor or actress in the film, as our co-producers (Channel 4) had required. The part of Adelaide, the hysterical wife of the protagonist, was still

uncast. Susan was suggested. But who was this unknown, and at the same time famous British theatre actress?

Shortly after our trip to London we were sent a video of *The Good Soldier*, which starred Susan Fleetwood. Tarkovsky instantly fell in love with one scene, where Susan enters the hall. He kept rewinding it, repeating: "She's magnificent! Just look! The way she moves!"

Adelaide was an extremely difficult part to play. She was a self-obsessed, self-styled goddess who had no consideration

for others. At the same time she was irresistible. On the shoot Susan had the toughest time. She had to memorise not only her lines (and she was dyslexic) but also the Swedish ones of her partners. And those lines were constantly changed. Her concentration must have been tremendous, but she did it with no apparent effort. She was totally professional: she was always on time, she never

complained, never whinged at the weather or Tarkovsky's time-wasting, such as when he was experimenting with a pool of water, completely forgetting his actors. Her reaction would be: "So what? We're not filming a soap opera. We're working with a difficult director who happens to be a genius."

Andrei called Susan "our intellectual". He was fascinated

and at the same time unsettled

by her directness and insatiable curiosity. "Susan is going to corner me again," he'd say, tugging on his moustache. Once he told her: "You must stop interpreting the role. Stop asking questions of how and what... Do you think I'm Adelaide better than you? I only write her, besides, I'm a man. You're an actress and she's a woman. You know her better than me. But I wouldn't have given you

the part if I didn't have faith in you. I'm not a madman."

During post-production, while watching the harrowing scene of Adelaide's hysteria (which must have reminded him of something deeply personal and disturbing), Andrei exclaimed: "That's uncanny! How did she know?" He added enigmatically: "Susan is full of surprises. She is an actress... no, a woman who knows."

Guido Guidi, journalist, died Rome 14 October, aged 73. Reporter for *La Stampa* 1964-79. President of the 1980s and 1990s of the Italian press associations, the National Council of the Order of Journalists and the National Federation of the Italian Press.

Canon John McWilliam, died Huntly, Grampian, 10 October, aged 90. Believed to be Britain's oldest practising priest at the time of his death, he was parish priest at St Margaret's Chapel in Huntly.

On 21 February, Mr Wait of the Asylum and Special Cases Division wrote a detailed response, concluding that the Home Secretary was satisfied the authorities in India were able to protect the applicant and his family.

On 3 March a fixed message was sent to the solicitors giving "removal directions" for 8 March 1995. On the same day the solicitors wrote to Mr Wait saying they would appeal to the special adjudicator on the basis that their recent letters constituted a fresh application for asylum. On behalf of the Secretary of State, Mr Wait rejected that argument, saying the later documentation produced merely amplified, and did not alter, the fundamental basis of the applicant's claim, namely that his life remained in danger from the same sources.

They submitted various documents and the Immigration Office pointed out that these documents related to the death of the applicant's grandfather, not father. That had already been taken into account. On 22 December the solicitors wrote to Mr Wait correcting the earlier information and producing evidence that the applicant's father had been injured in a militant attack on 17 November 1994.

Mr Justice Carmichael said the right of appeal asserted in this case was under section 8(4) of the Asylum and Immigration Appeals Act 1993, which applied "Where directions are given . . . for a person's removal from the United Kingdom . . ."

Removal directions were given by the immigration officer, not the Secretary of State. Under the Asylum Appeals (Procedure) Rules 1993, notice of appeal was given by service on the immigration officer, not the Secretary of State. The immigration officer then passed the notice on to the adjudicator. Only when the appeal was so constituted did the Secretary of State become a party.

The issue whether there had been a "fresh claim" arose, if at all, under para 2 of Schedule II to the 1993 Act, under which a person could not apply under section 8(4) unless he had made a claim for asylum. It was expressed as a procedural bar. As such it was a matter normally to be decided, in the first instance, by the court or tribunal to which the appeal had been made, namely the adjudicator, not the Secretary of State.

Neither the Act nor the Rules provided any immediate role for the Secretary of State when a notice of appeal was lodged. He was therefore wrong to regard his decision on whether there was a new claim as necessarily final.

Paul Magrath, Barrister

## Fresh asylum claim for adjudicator to decide

### LAW REPORT

17 October 1995

had also threatened his maternal aunt and in 1991 had killed his grandfather.

The Home Secretary refused his asylum claim on 19 January 1994. His appeal was dismissed by the special adjudicator on 12 March 1994. An application for leave to appeal to the Immigration Appeal Tribunal was refused by the chairman on 6 April 1994. Removal directions were given, and arrangements had been made for him to leave the country on 15 December 1994 when, on 13 December, his solicitors wrote to the Immigration Office:

Mr Justice Carmichael nevertheless refused an application by Manvinder Singh for judicial review of the Home Secretary's decision, communicated on 6 March 1995, that Mr Singh had not made a fresh claim for political asylum following rejection of his original claim and had no further right of appeal, since the adjudicator, had he considered the matter, would have reached the same conclusion.

The applicant, an Indian national, first applied for political asylum in November 1993 on the ground that his cousin, Balwinder Singh, had been killed by Sikh terrorists after refusing to join their cause, and, as he looked exactly like his cousin, the terrorists thought the cousin was still alive. They

### Births, Marriages & Deaths

**BIRTHS:** On 6 October 1995, at Homerton Hospital, London, Sarah (née Blackburn) and Julian, a daughter, Megan Rachel, a sister to Daniel.

**DEATHS:** On 1 October, to Emma and James, a son, Sebastian Edward Hugo, a brother to Tom.

**ANNOUNCEMENTS FOR GAZETTE** BIRTHS, MARRIAGES & DEATHS (Births, Adoptions, Marriages, Deaths, Memorial services, Weddings, Anniversaries, In Memoriam) should be sent in writing to the Gazette, 100 Fenchurch Street, London EC3P 4EE. Tel: 0171-293 2011 (24-hour answering service) 0171-293 2012 or faxed to 0171-293 2016, and are charged at £5.00 a line (VAT extra). OTHER Gazette announcements (notices, functions, forthcoming meetings etc.) should be sent in writing (or faxed) and are charged at £10 a line, VAT extra. They should be accompanied by a daytime telephone number.

**ROYAL ENGAGEMENTS** The Queen receives the Presidents of the Republic of Finland and Malawi Aliassane on a State Visit. The Duke of Edinburgh, President, opens the 10th anniversary of the City and Guilds of London Institute, London EC1. The Queen attends a State Banquet for the President of the Republic of Finland and Mrs Aliassane at Buckingham Palace. The Princess Royal, Patron, British School of Osteopathy, attends the Grand Opening of the new Multi-disciplinary Health Centre, 100 Newgate Street, London EC1. Following a reception by the Queen, the Queen's Guard, London SW1.

**Changing of the Guard** The Household Cavalry Mounted Regiment mounts the Queen's Life Guard at Horse Guards, Horse Guards Parade, London SW1.

**Lectures** National Gallery: Lynda Stephen, "Myths and Fables (II): Polukhino, Apollo and Daphne", 1pm.

Victoria and Albert Museum: Caroline Rimmel, "English Furniture 1780-1830", 2.30pm.</

## news analysis



**SUBURBANISATION**  
Towns squeeze locals out: 250,000 people own second homes in England; commuters live in rural areas but work in towns and cities and many day-travel outside the country. Rental accommodation is scarce and house prices soar beyond the reach of locals: 10 to 50 per cent above the national average. Rural residents often have to commute to find work and housing.

**DECLINE OF AGRICULTURE**  
The farm labour force has halved since 1950 (there were 700,000 agricultural workers, 200,000 now). This set-aside policy has led to less intensive farming techniques. The rural economy is now supported by manufacturing and tourism.

**DECLINE OF RURAL SERVICES**  
Wealthy commuters and second-home owners are undermining traditional rural services. Deregulation of bus services in the mid-Eighties led to a reduction in evening and Sunday services. Many rural train services were discontinued in the late Sixties. Village post offices, shops and pubs are on the wane, with 30 per cent of village shop owners considering selling up in the next two years.

**DISAPPEARANCE OF COUNTRYSIDE**  
An area the size of Greater London, Berkshire, Hertfordshire and Oxfordshire has been built on since 1945. By 2001 11 per cent of England may be urbanised. Hedgerows are destroyed by overzealous pruning or neglect and only 13 per cent of dry-stone walls are in good condition. 50 per cent of British wetlands, home to rare species such as the bittern, have been lost to modern farming since the Second World War.

**GROWTH OF RURAL POVERTY**  
High levels of rural unemployment and rising house prices have contributed to poverty. 18 per cent of men (compared to 8 per cent nationally) and 54 per cent of women (compared to 47 per cent nationally) earn low wages. In 50 per cent of rural households the main breadwinner earns less than £3,000 a year. Access to jobs is difficult because of poor transport.

Lie back and think of England, and you will probably think of its countryside. Gently rolling hills, a patchwork of fields, hedgerows and copses, church spires poking from clumped villages.

This warm and dreamy national emblem still survives largely intact across much of the country – but it is looking increasingly faded and ragged. The fields are bigger because many of the hedgerows have either been grubbed out or ruined through neglect. The woods are full of ageing, rotten trees because no one manages them for timber and other traditional forest products.

The village? There is a hotchpotch of modern, suburban-looking houses on its edges and for most hours of the day the place seems strangely dead. The church now holds services only every third Sunday and the bells seldom peal.

Today, after a full year of consultation, committee meetings and redrafting, the Government publishes its long-awaited White Paper on the future of rural England. In the face of the most rapid changes

### The great majority of people now working in the countryside have no direct connection with the land

in the past few decades, there is a sad flow in the other direction. Young people who grow up in villages have little prospect of finding homes they can afford, so they leave for town – to find cheaper homes to rent or buy, or to go on the council's waiting list – and possibly into temporary bed and breakfast accommodation.

Another great change is the decline of rural services – buses, village schools and shops. In some of the remotest parts this process is fuelled by depopulation, but elsewhere an increasingly mobile, car-borne rural

population is choosing to drive into town in search of cheaper, more varied shops and leisure pursuits.

The upshot of these changes is an increasingly polarised countryside. At one extreme there are wealthy newcomers who have no connection with the area apart from living there, and who are determined to fight off any development which would alter the landscape they have bought into at a high price.

At the other, there are the resentful rural poor. Their children have next to no hope of finding an affordable local home. And they hate the way in which any new development that might keep jobs and economic life in their villages is resisted by the *aristocrats*.

The other great rural battleground is between man and nature. Modern agriculture and urban development are destroying much of the wildlife and the landscapes which make us cherish the countryside in the first place. Each year between 50 and 100 square kilometres of rural England – an area equivalent to a large

town of at least 100,000 people – disappears under new buildings – mostly homes, but also factories, out-of-town shopping centres and roads.

The intensification of agriculture since the Second World War has done more damage still. Traditional farming practices allowed plenty of scope for rich and colourful flora and fauna to exist alongside man. Since the 1940s most of these semi-natural areas such as wetlands, coppice woodlands, unfertilised downland pastures and hay meadows have been ruined. They have either been damaged irreparably by neglect or vanished under the plough.

But this is the one destructive rural trend whose end may be in sight. The Government is coming round to the view that farmers are to be heavily subsidised, it should not be to grow surplus food but to manage the countryside in a way that people want.

This change is in its infancy. The amount of subsidy that farmers receive for delivering environmental goods (such as maintaining dry stone walls or conserving salt marshes) is still

more difficult. Trends such as polarisation and suburbanisation of rural areas are part of other formidable changes of our age – rapid technological progress, jobless economic growth, escalating use of transport and telecommunications.

The challenge is to create a more vibrant rural economy in which people can live and work in the same village. This used to happen naturally when most people worked on the land, but thanks to technology that time has gone forever. Even a massive increase in organic farming would create only a few tens of thousands of jobs.

What government, local and national, has to encourage is the creation of local jobs for people who have grown up locally and want to stay in the area, along with the provision of affordable – and therefore subsidised – homes. This goes against the grain in a society which is increasingly mobile and for a government which likes to deregulate.

The battle to save the countryside's cherished landscapes and wildlife has begun. Rebuilding the social fabric of the countryside may prove

are now allowed to build low-cost homes for rent just outside villages, on land which private housebuilders would not be allowed to develop because of planning restrictions.

Because of this the land involved is relatively cheap, which helps to keep the cost of these village housing projects down – and the rents as well. They are allocated to local people on low incomes who would otherwise have to leave the area to get subsidised housing.

The rest of us, who live in the cities, have to be encouraged to stay there. If we all fulfilled our wish to live in the countryside – in retirement or as commutes – we would ruin the place

minuscule compared to the production subsidies which encourage intensive agriculture.

The single largest manifestation of this change is the Common Agricultural Policy's set-aside regime, in which 10 per cent or more of cropland is left fallow. Set-aside does appear to be a boon to wildlife. The downside is that it has contributed to the massive decline in agricultural employment.

This change is in its infancy. The amount of subsidy that farmers receive for delivering environmental goods (such as maintaining dry stone walls or conserving salt marshes) is still

part of the salvation of England's countryside lies in improving its cities and making them places we want to live in all our lives. The countryside should be somewhere to visit – preferably by train or bus.

## Diary

DAVID LISTER

The hype for the "new" Beatles double CD – with a further two double CDs to follow – is proceeding in grand style. Articles, analyses, exclusive interviews with the surviving Beatles (though not, sadly, with Jane Asher about the day she accidentally threw away the lyrics to dozens of never-to-be-heard Lennon and McCartney songs in an over-enthusiastic burst of spring cleaning in 1965). The rock magazine *Mojjo* even has three different covers of the group, in the hope that in 20 years' time there will still be collectors of Beatle revivalist memorabilia. It is all the appetite for next month's highly lucrative release of all those hitherto unreleased tracks and cut-takes from the Sixties.

I don't want to spoil the party, but throughout the hype an interview from long ago with the late John Lennon has been buzzing round my mind. It took place in 1971 with *Rolling Stone* magazine. In it, John was asked about those unreleased tracks and cut-takes. They were, he replied, never put on record because they were not up to standard. "Everything that was good enough, we used," was the all-too-honest response, a quote which curiously has not featured in any of the advance publicity. What price the hype now? Or the three double CDs?

were far less common in France than in Britain.

What government could resist such a line of reasoning? Lower the taxes on wine and spirits and cut vandalism and juvenile crime at a stroke? And, by making dinner at home such an appetising prospect, they will also be helping to keep the family together. A vote-winning package if ever I heard one.

Sir Andrew Lloyd Webber tells me he has thoughts of building a new theatre with art gallery attached on London's South Bank, a few steps from the National. Under the cultural rationale of if you've got it, flaunt it, the art gallery would show Sir Andrew's own collection, and the theatre his musicals.

But he won't proceed until he is sure that the Millennium Commission will authorise a better link to bring people from north of the Thames. So a new bridge and a cable car from Covent Garden have been proposed. Is any capital city in the world, I wonder, so conscious of the divide between the two banks of its river? I, like most self-respecting north Londoners, would rather emigrate than live in the deep south. I imagine most south Londoners feel the same

about setting up home in the north.

No research has been carried out on the reasons for this. But empirical evidence suggests that the north Londoners feel that south London consists of one huge, sprawling council estate where the police travel in threes, while south Londoners see the north as a chartering class in continuous session.

And so, though the South Bank already has

the National Theatre,

National Film Theatre,

Royal Festival Hall and Museum of

the Moving Image, this is seen not as

a thriving arts metropolis which

should by now have become the focal

point of London, but as a problem –

because people from the other side of

the river can't stomach the thought of

going there unless assured of on-site

parking so that they can make their

getaway as the curtain falls.

The divide, both social and cultural,

does not seem to exist in Paris, where

the French fearlessly visit galleries

and theatres – and, doubtless,

encourage their children to imbibe in

restaurants – on both left and right

banks of the Seine.

It looks as though the Prime Minister

may have taken his revenge on an

increasingly hellish press corps.

Journalists arriving for the lobby

briefing at No 10 Downing Street

yesterday were surprised to find that

for the first time they were not

allowed to use the front door. From

now on they have to go round the side

to a new briefing room, and "for

security reasons" the door is locked

while they are inside. Send them

round the tradesmen's entrance and

if there's some bad news don't let

them out of the building. It must be

every prime minister's dream.

At the weekend I paid my first visit

for many years to Speakers' Corner in

London's Hyde Park. I was surprised

to find that the said speakers have

been separated from their corner, and



Free as ever: tub-thumpers' corner

are being obliged to set up their soapboxes on a pathway nearby.

However, little has changed in the subject matter on which British extroverts want to harangue their fellow citizens. Out of the six speakers, four were tub-thumping about religion (addressing one's listeners provocatively as "hypocrites" remains *de rigueur*); one was sounding off about the French and nuclear outrages; and one had an appealingly surreal approach. He spoke for nearly half an hour without actually saying anything. His thesis was that those with the least to say attract the biggest crowds, and this was borne out by the increasingly large numbers that surrounded him.

After he had played out his linguistic games, he said proudly that this is the only country in the world where one can stand on two milk crates and speak to 300 people for half an hour about nothing at all. I felt perversely proud to be British.

Readers of a nervous or sensitive disposition should read no further; but others might enjoy this sighting of a poster for a David Bowie concert on his recent American tour. Bowie was backed by two new bands, Prick and Nine Inch Nails. The magazine *Music Week* spotted one venue which had the billing confused and proudly announced:

"David Bowie with Nine Inch Prick". Well, I've always said he's the biggest star. Now it's official.

## Europe united on single currency

Until then, there's Glenfiddich to enjoy.

A bottle of Glenfiddich single malt Scotch whisky stands next to a glass filled with whisky. The background features a map of Europe with the title "Europe united on single currency" overlaid.

# INDEPENDENT

FOUNDED 1986

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TELEPHONE 0171-293 2000/0171-345 2004 FAX 0171-293 2435/0171-345 2436

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## Howard escapes justice again

**M**ichael Howard must not be allowed to wash his hands of responsibility for the serious security flaws in Britain's prisons. Sir John Learmont's report, published yesterday, describes a long-running catalogue of failure. He speaks of sloppiness in basic precautions, of widespread drug usage among inmates at Parkhurst and of a prison service "in which morale is low with ordinary prison officers feeling devastated and unfairly treated". A home secretary who has made so much political capital out of toughening prison regimes and proclaiming such a clear personal commitment to a particular approach to prison management cannot simply absolve himself when so many things go wrong.

Sir John's report, which focused primarily on the escape of three dangerous prisoners last January from Parkhurst, describes a shambolic security system, many weaknesses of which had been previously identified by the governor and by Judge Stephen Timm, Chief Inspector of Prisons. The man who has paid the price is Derek Lewis, director of the Prison Service. No one who reads this report will doubt that his resignation is appropriate, despite his considerable achievements over the past three years in making jails more humane and more effective.

But what of Mr Howard? Yesterday, he was condemned by Mr Lewis, who accused him of paying insufficient attention to prisons. This public rebuke must in part reflect Mr Lewis's bitterness at being forced out. But it is a serious allegation, none the less, from a senior figure who knows the inside of Britain's jails. It also chimes with Sir John's report, which suggests that too little time is

being spent on the active management of prisons and too much on processing paper generated by the prison bureaucracy and the Home Office.

Mr Howard takes comfort in not having been explicitly blamed by Sir John. But the Learmont report calls for an examination of the relationship between agencies such as the Prison Service and the Home Office. This raises serious questions over the roles that the Home Secretary and his officials have played in a management structure that has proved ineffective in keeping high-risk prisoners behind bars.

The teflon-coated Mr Howard will no doubt survive this latest barrage of criticism, just as he did last week's attack by the Lord Chief Justice over plans to curb remission for long-term prisoners.

The problem with Mr Howard's approach is that it is one-dimensional. He accepts most of the report's recommendations which directly bear upon issues of security, although he has been unable to persuade the Treasury to cough up for a new prison for high-risk prisoners. But he rejects any proposals that might blur his image as the hard man of the penal world, such as the provision of more televisions and more home leave.

This is simplistic. The provision of decent facilities in jails is not only civilised, it is part of the mechanism for controlling bored and violent people. Sir John Learmont, like the Lord Chief Justice, knows that disturbances break out when prisoners feel abused, too confined and lose hope. That produced the Strangeways riot in 1990 and the subsequent improvement of prison regimes. The irresponsible Mr Howard is turning back the clock and laying up serious trouble for his successor.

## One tyrant, one vote

**P**resident Saddam Hussein of Iraq has never been a man noted for a highly developed sense of humour, but even he might be able to appreciate the ironies of the preposterous "referendum" which has just consecrated his rule by a "yes" vote of 99.96 per cent.

Here was a contest with one candidate in which many hapless voters were invited to mark their papers without the least privacy. Its outcome was celebrated with the intimidatory tattoo of Kalashnikov fire familiar at occasions of spontaneous public rejoicing in Baghdad. The result was hailed by Saddam's toadying deputy, Izzat Ibrahim, as "an immortal day in the history of Arabism and Islam".

As so often with Saddam, the outside world is left to shake its head and attempt to decipher his intentions. Could this have been an effort to persuade the more credulous or covetous members of the United Nations Security Council that it is a legitimate government upon whose shoulders the burden of UN sanctions unjustly rests? It cannot have purchased an iota of credibility for that assumption.

It seems more likely that this was the Iraqi leader's method of sending a signal to the Security Council. Sanctions have failed, he is saying, I can still muster more than 8 million people to cast votes, my control is absolute and my resolve firm. Therefore lift sanctions, for they are hurting the Iraqi people but cannot harm me.

There is a respectable liberal argument precisely to that effect. The sufferings of the Iraqi people deserve every ounce of compassion. The UN itself has done

mented middle-class penury, malnutrition among the poor, lack of medicines for the sick. Iraq, once a standard-bearer of social development, is disintegrating into a pre-industrial country. But this tragedy stems from nothing more than the calculated actions of Saddam Hussein himself.

The Iraqi regime refuses to take up an option for UN-controlled oil sales that would yield \$1bn in humanitarian funds. It spouts the propaganda of the oppressed yet it squanders scarce cash on its army and the sinister security services that preserve Saddam in power. Even more ominous, the Iraq that pleads poverty has engaged once again in a clandestine buying spree of missile components and hi-tech weapons parts. These are the actions of a government bent on violent retribution, not those of a humanitarian supplicant.

Perhaps the greatest service of Saddam's "referendum" is the helpful light it casts on the nature of his regime. When arguments are made on behalf of the Iraqi people, let it be recalled that this is a ruling clique that rules by violating the country's legal constitution. No elected parliament has existed in Iraq since 1958, and by 1968 the Baath party had abrogated all power to itself. There have been interludes of token liberalisation in Baghdad before – 1983 to 1990 was one such period. It is all part of an intermittent effort to convert the Baathist heritage of "revolutionary legitimacy" into a governmental system able to claim allegiance from all Iraqis. And perhaps the greatest irony is that the Baath party's own title means "renaissance".

ANOTHER VIEW: Derek Lewis

## Unfinished prison reform

**I**f the Prison Service is ever to realise its full potential, what it needs, as General Sir John Learmont has said, is "minimum political involvement in the day-to-day operation of the service". As Stephen Timm, the Chief Inspector, put it: "I hope that the Prison Service can be left alone to get on with its job without too much digging and poking."

The Prison Service has had a troubled history. In the Eighties it was industrial relations and overcrowding. In 1990 it was the most serious riots in its history at Strangeways and other prisons. Most recently it has been the very serious escapes from Whitemoor and Parkhurst.

There has been no shortage of inquiries – May, Woolf, Lygo, Woodcock and now Learmont. As a result, the service was given agency status on 1 April 1993 and I was appointed director general. It was made clear to me that the changes required in the service were of such a fundamental nature that they would take many years to complete. What was needed was a twin-track programme: first, to achieve early and significant improvements in performance across the range – security, control, regimes and efficiency; but at the same time the foundations had to be laid for long-term changes in structure and culture and to eliminate financial waste.

Our progress has been a credit to all those who work in the service. Escapes have been cut by more than 75 per cent. The public is also better protected through an 80 per cent reduction in the number of home-leave failures. There has

been only one serious prison disturbance in the past three years and none in the past two. Prisoners are spending more time in better-quality work, training and education. We are doing more to protect the public by forcing prisoners to confront their criminal behaviour and change it. We have virtually eliminated the unacceptable practice of slopping out, stopped prisoners being held three to a cell and ceased the unacceptable use of police cells. At the same time we have accommodated a rise in the prison population from 40,000 to 52,000 and reduced the real cost to the taxpayer.

Those achievements have been severely marred by the escapes from Whitemoor and Parkhurst, which have underlined the fact that there is still much to do. Indeed, as I have said on many occasions, the task is not yet half done, but the service now has a momentum for change. If followed through with proper support I know the people I have worked with can deliver.

The Prison Service Board has clearly indicated its belief in a need for continuity. Sadly, that is not to be the case and I leave the service with great regret at a job well started but not completed. I hope we shall see over the coming years my vision come to pass of a service that is secure, safe, effective at rehabilitating offenders and efficient. And I hope that those who have this task will allow the freedom to see it through.

The writer was director general of the Prison Service from 1993 until yesterday.



Signing the contract for the big fight

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

### Lottery funds for Neptune Hall

From Lord Rothschild

Sir: Although it is not our practice to comment publicly on applications under consideration, Colin Brown's article ("Philip wades into battle for lottery cash", 16 October) about the National Maritime Museum's application should not go unanswered. The NMM did, indeed, apply to us for a grant in January. The project is an important and complex one, involving the expenditure of some £14m. The Trustees of the National Heritage Memorial Fund have, at all times, made it clear to the NMM that although they support the Neptune Hall scheme in principle, some aspects of the application concern them.

The distributors of the National Lottery have been asked to ensure that applications for lottery funds are of a high quality, and we take this consideration very seriously. Our concerns have been based on the detailed expert advice we have sought on this project, including the views of the Royal Fine Arts Commission and a number of independent experts of undoubted standing. Concerns were also raised following a visit to the NMM by members of

our expert panel and by trustees.

We have been most careful to let the NMM informed at every stage of the progress of the application. In conjunction with the NMM and English Heritage, we are now working towards a solution which we hope we will be in a position to announce in the near future. This solution, we believe, will address the concerns raised by our expert advisers and will ensure that this major project is at a suitable stage for any millennium celebration; and that this remarkable museum can be appreciated by visitors well into the 21st century.

The Trustees of the National Heritage Memorial Fund have, at all times, supported the Neptune Hall scheme in principle, some aspects of the application concern them.

Lastly, I would like to point out for accuracy that the grant to the Royal Opera House was made by the Arts Council and not by the National Heritage Memorial Fund.

Yours faithfully,  
ROTHSCHILD  
Chairman  
National Heritage Memorial Fund  
London, SW1  
16 October

### Boxing: the camaraderie and the tragedy

From Mr Anthony Potts

Sir: It is a tragedy that James Murray was killed by boxing, and the sport would be changed for the better if this risk wasn't there, but the risk is there, and boxers do understand this.

I was happy that I had the opportunity to compete; it is my belief that it is not my place or that of boxing's detractors to take away the right of others to take up again.

Whenever I entered the ring as a boxer, my sole aim was to score more points than my opponent. Of course, this involved a risk to both of us, but I no more intended to cause physical injury to my opponent than a rugby player does when tackling the opposition hard.

The point must be made that, in both situations, something is happening in which a person's actions risk the life of another person. If we can accept injuries caused by boxing as acceptable, then we should accept that two athletes be allowed to compete in their chosen sport of boxing. If intentions are being questioned, one should compare the spirit of camaraderie between boxers with the air of dis-

like so obvious between some of our other sportsmen.

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### Subsidy for the exploited employee

From Dr Harley Dean

Sir: Last Wednesday (11 October), Peter Lilley duly observed the traditions of the Conservative Party Conference by raising the spectre of social security benefit fraud in order to decry it. Obviously, benefit fraud cannot be a good thing, but what kind of a problem is it?

According to the British Social Attitudes survey, around a third of the population agree that "most people on the dole are fiddling". In reality, the Social Security Benefit Agency's own best evidence is that around 5 per cent of income support claims, and around 3 per cent of unemployment benefit claims, can be proved to be fraudulent.

I have been involved in an Economic and Social Research Council-funded research project, ending this month, that has examined the attitudes and motivations of fraudulent benefit claimants. The findings suggest benefit fraud is certainly problematic for those involved in it, but that it is not necessarily the opportunity of reasonably paid employment.

Second, in a high proportion of cases, low-paying employers were directly colluding with fraudulent claimants. We met young people whose only prospect of reliable employment was with the kind of employer who not only expected them to "sign on", but gave them a half day off every fortnight in order to do so.

From the Government's point of view, it might be argued, the existence of benefit fraud is functional for its labour market strategy. Allowing benefit fraud represents a covert way of

subsidising exploitative employers in a hypercasualised labour market, but without damaging labour supply incentives.

From the claimants' point of view, benefit fraud can be a stressful and largely unrewarding activity. Most of those to whom we spoke were uncomfortable about what they did and had not planned their fraud in a particularly effective way. For them, benefit fraud was not part of any sort of lifestyle choice.

Fraudulent claimants' notions of citizenship and responsibility were often highly ambiguous.

Their conceptions appeared to have been impoverished through an erosion of the popular ideals of democratic welfare citizenship. This, of course, could signal a deeper problem for society at large. It is not, however, a problem that is usefully addressed by such devices as computerised "smart cards".

Yours faithfully,  
HARLEY DEAN

Reader in Social Policy  
Department of Social Studies,  
University of Luton  
Luton

16 October

very under-strength and, in consequence, were reinforced with Koreans attached to Commonwealth units (Katoms).

Young Republic of Korea soldiers were fully integrated into each platoon, about three to a section. They shared the dugouts, the food and the combat duties. Each Katom was looked after by a British "buddy". They wore our regimental badge with apparent pride and such English as they acquired bore a marked cockney accent.

Surely, there are other precedents for the proposal to bolster the infantry with Nepalese. Given their long and distinguished connection, this would not appear particularly remarkable. Having seen them in action, I believe their presence would instill an extra competitive element within the units concerned, to their mutual benefit.

Yours sincerely,  
RUTH CLARKE  
Harrold  
Bedfordshire

Leigh-on-Sea, Essex

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## comment

## The buck wanders round and round

Yesterday, at last, Michael Howard took some responsibility for the bad prisons news – but not enough

**W**here do bucks stop? Constitutionally, theoretically, the answer is clear: for mistakes made by government ministers are ultimately answerable to Parliament. They are meant to protect their departments and their civil servants – and if things go badly wrong, to resign. In practice, though, they don't. They have progressively distanced themselves from day to day mistakes. The buck wanders.

At one level this is sensible. The old doctrine was that, in Aneurin Bevan's phrase, "if a bedpan is dropped, the minister will hear of it". Taken seriously, that would produce deafened, overwhelmed ministers, drowning helplessly in the minutiae of administrative life as they tried to honour the rituals of parliamentary accountability. Men like Michael Howard are there to direct the broad thrust of policy, not to take the blame for every lost jester's key.

But no one other than the most intellectually indolent defender of the Home Secretary would leave the matter there. By trying to distance the direction of policy from the operation of policy, ministers let themselves off the hook absurdly easily. Whatever goes wrong can always be blamed on the messy failures of executives, rather than on the pure thought of the politicians. They go if they are caught on a stained mattress in Chelsea. But it's merely a catastrophic failure of public policy – forget it.

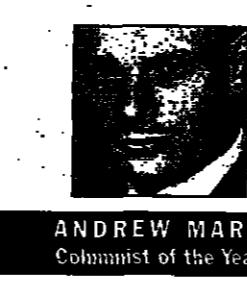
This slipperiness is made easier by the rise of a new class of blame-takers, the men and women who run, or ran, the government's executive agencies, whether they be Roy Happle-

white, ex of the Child Support Agency, or Derek Lewis, as-from-yesterday-ex of the Prison Service. The more freedom they have to manage, independent of ministerial interference, the more blame they have to take when things go wrong. Yet they are always working within the budgets and policies laid down by ministers. They are not the masters or mistresses of their own destinies.

So when bad things happen, such as those in the prison service revealed in yesterday's damning reports by Sir John Learmonth and Judge Stephen Illumin, how are the rest of us to decide who is responsible? How can blame be apportioned fairly between political policy-makers and unelected policy carrier-outers?

The previous report on the White-moor prison breakout, nearly a year ago, went to the heart of the problem when it complained about "some confusion as to the respective roles of ministers, the agency headquarters and individual prison governors ... the inquiry has identified the difficulty of determining what is an operational matter and what is policy, leading to confusion as to where responsibility lies."

There is no Solomon of British public life to draw near lines through chaos. Blame, in these circumstances, is inescapably a matter of politics, of expediency. The failures of lax prison regimes and low morale are too widespread and long-standing for there to be fingerprints, clues, and a neat, Agatha Christie-style villain. There is no one person, or group of people, who can be shown to be personally responsible for a bad Prison



ANDREW MARR  
Columnist of the Year

Service culture going back many years.

What was required was not a trial, but for someone to take responsibility as a matter of honour and in order to expunge public anger. One is reminded of the *Blackadder* scene in the First World War when the officer decides that it is time for a pointless sacrifice. Only this time, it isn't pointless. If it had turned out yesterday, yet again, that no one would take the blame for failure, public cynicism would have been reinforced. This cynicism is already eating away at the reputations of many state institutions.

The question then becomes – who is the person best suited for sacrifice?

Whose departure would do most to please the public? And if you put it like that the answer is obvious.

Michael Howard has stuffed another 10,000 people into prison as a result

of changes to sentencing policy, and his 20-second sound bite at the Tory conference last week changing the rules still further may add another 20,000. He has changed the policy which Derek Lewis was trying to implement. He has striven to get the applause while some other poor devil struggles to make it work. Then when

things get tough, he turns on the poor devil and fires him.

Had Howard sauntered to the ministerial box and resigned he would, at one bound, have done a lot to restore the reputation of himself and of John Major's government. It would have been a moment for jollity and self-congratulation, a far shrewder and more politically astute move than anything he had done at the party conference. Had he resigned, it would have confounded the pundits and left Jack Straw, who suggested that he should resign, utterly aghast. Dream on, Marx, dream on.

He took the other option and no

one in the land is surprised. Howard had already tried to defend Lewis and distance him from the events at White-moor and Parkhurst, two of the most embarrassing episodes in the modern history of British prisons. For his pains he was howled down in Parliament, derided on *Newsham* and pilloried by the newspapers. It is hardly surprising that this time he has taken the opposite course.

But by giving up on the cause of Lewis, Michael Howard has not escaped blame himself, or, probably, punishment either; it is merely that the retribution is likely to come a little later and be delivered upon him and his colleagues collectively, through a small but lethal hardening of the attitude of some millions of voters. If the Major administration is defeated at the next election, it will be impossible to look

back in retrospect and determine to what extent the Home Secretary's current reputation is responsible. But then some of the most important things in politics are immeasurable.

None of this means that we should be inclined to view Mr Lewis himself as an ill-used man. From the point of view of the higher public good, he is a scrawny scapegoat than the Home Secretary, but he is better than nothing. The agency managers are responsible for their services, and "responsible" is not a vague word. He may be shaken by what happened yesterday, but he can hardly claim to have been a wholly innocent bystander. And though he is a poor devil, he has, after all, been a highly paid poor devil.

The predictable result of all this is

that even fewer people of high calibre

from the private sector will wish to run

public agencies, holding their jobs at the whim of ministers who are crisis-driven and unlikely to take responsibility, ever, for bad policy or incom-

petent legislation.

If there is an answer, it lies not in

Whitehall rulebooks or independent

inquiries, but in the hands of MPs

themselves, who need to reassess

themselves against a mistrusted executive. If Derek Lewis had owned his job

to Parliament and not to Michael

Howard, then the Home Secretary

would not have been judge, jury and

counsel for his own defence as well.

We could have had a parliamentary

inquiry, apportioning blame as

between the service and the minister,

the operatives and the policy-maker,

on behalf of their constituents and

patronasters, and deciding the penalty.

This may seem Utopian, but some

earlier generations of parliamentarians

wouldn't have thought it so. Until

then all we have left are our wry

smiles and the distant rumble of wan-

dering bucks.

## Many a proverb makes no sense

**H**ere is a thought for the day. "The perversity of nature is best illustrated by the fact that, when exposed to the same atmosphere, bread will go hard and crackers will go soft."

It took me several minutes'

hard thought before I stumbled

on the fallacy in this idea, but

even after spotting the fallacy

I still like it. It comes from Paul

Dickson's *The New Official Rules*, the great guide to life

that I referred to yesterday and

which has a deeper purpose than

just to amuse, if there can be a

deeper purpose than that.

Ostensibly Dickson was just

collecting a bunch of mock-

scientific rules about life

of which some are mildly pointless

("A crowded lift smells worst to the smallest occupant"), some

sound meaningful but aren't

("A hen is only an egg's way of

making another egg"), and some

are brilliant ("The nice

thing about being a celebrity is

that when you bore people,

they think it is their fault" – a

quote from all people, Henry

Kissinger); but Dickson's pur-

pose is not just frivolous. He is

trying to codify human life and

work out a pattern in the crazy

paying of our behaviour.

Nothing new about this. It

was first done thousands of

years ago when people started

inventing or distilling proverbs.

Human behaviour is an illogical

thing, so you can't frame

scientific laws to describe it or

measure it; what you can do is

work out a set of rough and

ready proverbs to describe

human habits.

It wasn't long before some-

one noticed that for every

proverb saying one thing there

is another saying the opposite –

"Many hands make light work"

and "Too many cooks spoil the

broth", etc – but this doesn't

mean that either of them is

wrong. It merely means that

human behaviour is so contradic-

tory that you have to be self-

contradictory to describe it.

The trouble is, though, that

people gave up making up

proverbs a long time ago, as

though we now knew all there

was to know about the human

condition. From time to time

we seem to be aware of this, as

when people started producing

slogans in the Second World

War and these took on the

form of proverbs (eg, "Careless

talk costs lives" or, in the Ameri-

can version, "A slip of the lip

can sink a ship").

In the late 1950s *Mad* maga-

zine decided to update some of

the best known proverbs,

and as a teenager I thought

these updates were hilarious.

Some of them still work, such

as "Fools rush in and get the

best seats" and "Rome wasn't

built in a day" – it just looks that

way, while there is a pleasing

quality about "A bird in the

hand makes it difficult to blow

the nose".

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### Generation Why



MARKET SUMMARY								
STOCK MARKETS								
FTSE 100					Dow Jones*			
2610	4038	19400	2943.4	4.0	4730	19000	18200	17700
2670	4730	19000	2943.4	4.0	4730	18200	17700	17000
3340	4730	18200	2943.4	4.0	4730	17700	17000	17000
3460	4730	17700	2943.4	4.0	4730	17000	17000	17000
3450	4730	17700	2943.4	4.0	4730	17000	17000	17000
3410	4730	17700	2943.4	4.0	4730	17000	17000	17000
T W F M	T W F M	T W F M	T W F M	T W F M	T W F M	T W F M	T W F M	T W F M
Index	Close	Day's change	Change (%)	12 Wk High	12 Wk Low	Yield(%)		
FTSE 100	3567.3	-10.7	-0.3	3570.8	2943.4	4.0		
FTSE 250	3939.9	-6.3	-0.2	3951.3	3300.9	3.5		
FTSE 350	1771.3	-4.7	-0.3	1776.3	1477.0	3.8		
FT Small Cap	1964.1	-0.6	-0.0	1993.1	1678.6	3.3		
FT All Share	1749.7	-4.4	-0.3	1757.6	1465.2	3.8		
New York *	3789.1	-4.7	-0.1	4801.8	3674.6	2.4		
Tokyo	18016.4	+135.6	+0.8	18992.4	14465.4	0.8		
Hong Kong	10000.3	+125.5	+1.3	10000.3	6967.9	3.2		
Frankfurt	2191.4	-5.4	-0.3	2317.0	1911.0	2.0		
Paris	1790.5	-26.5	-1.5	2017.3	1721.8	3.8		
Milan	9338.0	-207.0	-2.2	10911.0	9265.0	2.1		

\*New York at 1500 hours. New Jersey graph at 1330 hours

MAIN PRICE CHANGES									
FTSE 350 companies (excluding investment trusts)									
Rises					Falls				
Price(p)	Change(p)	% Change	Price(p)	Change(p)	% Change	Price(p)	Change(p)	% Change	
Burford	127.5	7.5	6.3	Lloyds Chemists	228	17	8.9		
Rebesch	47.3	20	4.4	Unichem	284	11	4.0		
Orf Furniture	349	14	4.2	Lucas Industries	195	8	3.9		
Darts Bus Sys	579	19	3.4	British Gas	243	9	3.6		
Close Brothers	319	9	2.8	Enron Units	92	3	3.2		



Money Market Rates								
Index	1 Month	1 Year	Medium Bond (%)	Year Ago	Long Bond (%)	10 Year Ago		
UK	6.69	6.88	8.56	8.26	8.42			
US	5.81	5.75	5.95	7.69	6.30	7.83		
Japan	0.34	0.31	2.66	4.63	3.58	5.00		
Germany	4.00	4.00	6.56	7.44	7.18	7.81		

\*\*New York rates and Brent November at 1500 hours.

## OTHER INDICATORS

Yesterday	Change	Year Ago	Yesterday	Change	Year Ago
Oil Brent S	+0.34	1.5925	RPI	+0.07	1.14
\$ (London)	1.5737	+0.07	E (London)	0.6346	-0.0279
\$ (N York)**	1.5740	-0.07	E (N York)	0.6349	-0.04
Dm (London)	2.2374	-1.265	Dm (London)	1.4209	-0.846
Ven (London)	158.36	-0.05	Ven (London)	100.48	-0.24
E Index	84.3	-0.2	\$ Index	92.7	-0.2

Source: Datastream

## IN BRIEF

## Franc weakens...

The French franc weakened against the mark, losing over a cent on the day to close in London trading at 3.49DM. The fresh weakness was occasioned in part by the decision by the Banque de France to cut the overnight loan rate by a quarter of a per cent to 7 per cent only a week after it had raised the rate by 1.1 per cent to combat a speculative run on the currency. The franc was also weakened following a report in *Le Monde* suggesting that finance minister, Jean Arthuis, might be involved in a political party funding scandal.

## ...as Germans hope for rate cut

Hopes that the Bundesbank might ease interest rates further were prompted by fresh evidence that inflation was under control and that the economy was weakening. Consumer prices rose in September by 1.6 per cent rather than the 1.8 per cent initially estimated. And industrial production in August was down by 3.4 per cent and July's rise was sharply revised down to 1.7 per cent. Officials said that the data was distorted by the summer holidays, but Holger Fahrinkrog, an economist at UBS in Frankfurt, said that the figures were consistent with "underlying weakness" in the economy, resulting from the strength of the mark in the first half of the year.

## Winckler steps up at SIB

The Securities and Investments Board, the City's top regulator, announced yesterday that Andrew Winckler, currently head of supervision, is to succeed John Young as chief executive when he retires at the end of the year. Mr Young will remain on the SIB board as a non-executive. Brian Smith, who retires as head of operations, will be succeeded by Roderick Chamberlain.

## Pru's premium income down

Prudential, the UK's largest insurer, yesterday announced a 13 per cent fall in worldwide regular premium income in the first nine months of 1995, down to £342m compared to the same period last year. Single premium sales dropped by 14 per cent over the same period, to £3.2bn.

## Medeva finance director on the move

Dennis Millard, finance director of Medeva, is moving to take up the same position at Cookson, the ceramics to precious metals group. He replaces Ian Barr, who retires. Mr Millard dismissed suggestions that the decision was related to the collapse of merger talks between Medeva and Fisons earlier this year. He had been seen as favourite in some quarters to become finance director of the enlarged group. Mr Millard's current earnings around £210,000, compared with £187,000 for Mr Barr.

## Irish clearance for Arco's Aran bid

The Irish government has cleared Arco's bid for Aran Energy. Richard Bruton, minister for enterprise and employment, said yesterday he would not refer the proposed takeover to the competition authority.

## Hornby chief quits

Hornby, the toy group, said that Keith Ness would step down as chief executive as of this Friday and cease to be a director of the company. While the board finds a successor, Peter Newey, a non-executive director, will step in as chief executive.

Leeson affair: Island authorities expected to criticise lack of London supervision in report on £860m crash

## Bank ready for Barings attack from Singapore

STEPHEN VINES

Singapore and JOHN EISENHAMMER

London

The Bank of England was bracing itself last night for a barrage of criticism from Singapore, which today publishes its version of the destruction of Barings. Eddie George, the Governor of the Bank of England, will not be available in London to respond to the Singapore report's criticism as he is currently on a goodwill tour of the main Asian financial centres. Singapore is not on the itinerary.

The eight-month investigation into the bankruptcy of the merchant bank under £260m of derivatives losses has seen mounting diplomatic tension between the Singapore authorities and the Bank of England over where the blame lies for failures in regulation and supervision.

From the start of investigations into the Barings collapse the British and Singaporean regulatory authorities treated

each other with mutual suspicion. Bank of England investigators complained that they could only present an incomplete picture because they were denied access to documents and evidence in Singapore, where Nick Leeson, the Singapore trader carried out his ruinous dealings.

The Singapore International Monetary Exchange (Simex) said yesterday that its disciplinary committee had imposed a fine of Singapore \$6.95m (£1.5m) on Barings Futures (Singapore), the local Barings office where Nick Leeson was the senior derivatives trader. Barings collapsed at the end of February.

In June the Hearing Committee of Simex's board found the British investment bank was guilty of accepting orders without causing them to be executed on the exchange, breaching its fiduciary duties by permitting the creation of false records in relation to the prices recorded for the position of two accounts; supplying false information to the exchange about the position in its long trades and for dishonest conduct in relation to fictitious trades and entries recorded.

Singapore officials had been saying that they were worried about releasing their inspector's report, which was completed over a month ago,

successful in their extradition application, but Mr Leeson's lawyers are appealing which means he may remain in his Frankfurt jail for several months more. Mr Leeson has sold his version of the story for £450,000 to publisher, Little Brown.

The build-up to the long-awaited publication of the Singapore report by the Finance Ministry, some three months after the Bank of England's account, has been punctuated by insiders' suggestions it will contain savage criticism of Barings management. It is not clear how, however, whether fears of prejudicing pending legal action will mean that parts of the report remain confidential. Although

there is little hope that it will shed much light on the activities of the island state's regulatory authorities, the inspectors have managed to put together a fuller picture of Mr Leeson's activities than was offered in the Bank of England report. The Singapore authorities are anxious to avoid the Barings fiasco tainting the reputation of the local futures exchange.

The British report said that the Barings collapse was almost entirely the fault of Mr Leeson and his senior managers, allowing the Bank of England to come out of the affair with only light bruises. Singaporean officials have privately been far more critical in past months

about the Bank's supervisory activities, and its failure to be alarmed at the hundreds of millions of pounds being sent out of London earlier this year to



## COMMENT

"From a shipwreck only three years ago, when few could see a future for this also-ran of the sector, Asda seems to be establishing a quite distinct place for itself in the market."

## Asda's gain is the Conservative Party's loss

**A**rchie Norman's attempt to undermine the right of manufacturers to set prices for over-the-counter medicines may for the moment involve only a limited number of products, but this could be just the beginning. Any breach of the dam, however small, is likely to prove fatal for the whole edifice. Following the demise of the Net Book Agreement - in which Mr Norman also had a hand - the protection of non-prescription drug prices is the last remaining legal price fixing arrangement. It is perhaps remarkable that this apparent anomaly has gone unchallenged for so long. Even so, the established manufacturers and pharmacy chains such as Boots will fight tooth and nail to preserve it.

The free market argument for abolishing the exemption centres on price. Asda says we pay too much for basic medicines. The profit margins on toiletries, for example, is around 50 per cent higher than those on food items. The argument for maintaining some kind of price fixing centres on choice and ease of access to a local pharmacy - pretty similar to the arguments in favour of the net book agreement.

If the OTC exemption disappeared, the supermarkets would cut prices, forcing small, independent pharmacies out of business, or so the argument goes. There is also an extra element in this debate that was absent from that over the net book agreement. The Government's free market principles should place it philosophically on the

side of deregulation, but its actual policies may put it on the other side of the fence. Its determination to shift the provision of medication out of hospitals and towards local GPs - while at the same time moving more drugs off prescription to make them available over the counter - would argue strongly in favour of preserving the present set-up.

What is clear is that Archie Norman is playing a shrewd hand. After his successful challenge to the Net Book Agreement, this is another public relations triumph that helps establish Asda as people's champion and a low cost alternative to rivals Sainsbury and Tesco. From a shipwreck only three years ago, when few could see a future for this also-ran of the sector, Asda seems to be establishing a quite distinct place for itself in the market. Fortunately for Asda's shareholders, Mr Norman's appetite for sinking ships is a limited one. Persistent speculation over his political ambitions have recently been quashed. Asda's gain is the Conservative Party's loss.

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More likely, this is another badly written scene in the painfully slow tragicomedy of Mr Brown's downfall. The original pay rise, justified as replacing an old and poorly structured bonus scheme, has already undermined Mr Brown's authority inside and outside the company. With the departure, announced yesterday, of his longest serving executive colleagues, he has become an isolated figure on the board, the last of the executives who grew up with the company.

Chief executive he may still be, but power is slipping away. Increasingly that power now resides with Richard Giordano, the chairman. His critical views of some of the policy decisions taken before he arrived, particularly of refusal to contemplate demerger of the public gas supply business, is well known.

As the share price has been indicating for some time, British Gas is in a hole. The company is being progressively squeezed by the introduction of competition, which has knocked its share of the industrial users' market for six at a time when selling prices are falling and high price North Sea pro-

duction contracts are eating a hole in its balance sheet. Next year, competition begins experimentally in the domestic market, and who knows what that may lead to.

The company's safe and lucrative monopoly business is the transmission grid, but the terms under which it runs the grid are under attack from the regulator, Clark Spottiswoode. Mr Giordano is wrestling with a serious problem. The public perception of British Gas is that it is a profit-making monopoly run by overpaid executives. The commercial reality of the profits outlook, as the City has been aware since well before the salary scandal broke, is exactly the opposite.

### Waiting for more smoke and mirrors

The Conservatives have danced away at least six of the seven wells in their heavy hints of tax cuts to come in the November budget. The result in the short run at least is that the markets will be casting an even heavier eye on the PSBR for September.

The first five months of the year has brought little but disappointment on the budget deficit. If the City's forecast of around £4bn for September is proved right, then that will add a further month in which there was no improvement. The underlying position - excluding privatisation receipts - is showing some modest decline, at £300m

a month. The implication would be a PSBR not far short of last year's eventual deficit of £360m.

Last week's Green Budget from the Institute for Fiscal Studies and Goldman Sachs projected a more optimistic outcome of £27bn, but even that is still considerably worse than the £21.5bn foreseen by the Treasury at the time of the last budget. The short fall has arisen principally on the revenue side. Receipts are lower, says the Green Budget, because both inflation and growth are lower than expected.

Despite this, the Green Budget said that modest tax cuts of £2-3bn next year were compatible with a PSBR of £17bn for 1996-97, which is not far short of the government's objective of £13bn last November. However, that is based on the notion that there will be a decline in real public spending in 1996-7. This, however, is a pre-election or election year. Traditionally, chancellors loosen the purse strings in such years. To tighten them might seem like political madness.

Scepticism about such a scenario is widespread in the City, as is the notion that Kenneth Clarke will in practice yank this year's PSBR back into shape by not allocating to spending departments the contingency reserve of £30m. It hardly makes for a propitious background for a tax-cutting budget, but one is coming for sure. No doubt the Treasury is already putting in an advance order for smoke and mirrors.

**Boardroom upheaval:** Speculation over future of chief executive grows as he waives right to £2m long-term incentive scheme

## Brown hangs on as British Gas purges old guard

MARY FAGAN  
Industrial Correspondent

British Gas announced sweeping boardroom changes yesterday, leaving chief executive Cedric Brown, as the only remaining member of the old guard. The shake-out - the biggest since Richard Giordano became chairman in January 1994 - coincided with confirmation that Mr Brown is waiving his right to a long-term incentive scheme that could eventually have earned him about £2m in shares.

The move fuelled speculation over the future of Mr Brown, who has almost five years to go before he officially retires. However British Gas said: "Cedric is not going" and that the changes announced yesterday are "part of an on-going process of orderly change". City analysts said some purge of the old guard has been expected to take British Gas forward in a changing industry.

At the same time the company revealed details of the incentive scheme, under which three directors have been "allocated" a total of up to 287,452 shares worth almost £700,000 at yesterday's closing price. The number finally awarded depends on company performance and the shares will not be released for five or six years.

The management changes include the abrupt departure yesterday of Russell Herbert, the 51-year-old executive director with responsibilities including the global gas business. His duties will be assumed by Stephen Brandon, who recently joined the board from General Electric of the US.

It was also announced that Howard Dalton and Norman Blacker, also executive directors, will retire "in due course". Mr Dalton is aged 61 and has responsibilities including exploration and production. Mr Blacker is 57 and has been

with British Gas since 1969. His duties cover Europe and the UK gas trading operations.

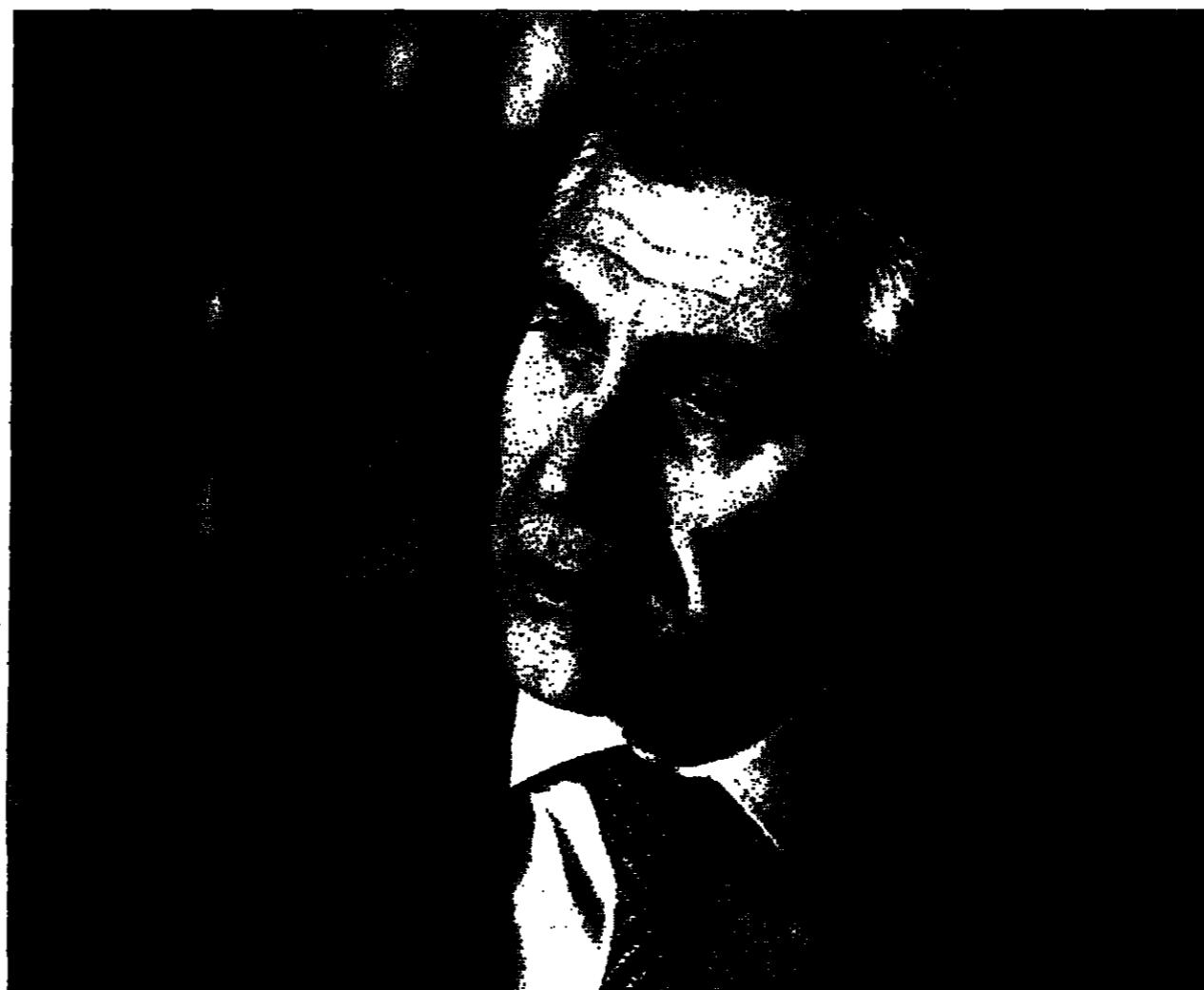
The company refused to comment on whether Mr Herbert, who has been with British Gas since 1966, will receive any payoff. He was on a two-year rolling contract with pay and benefits last year totalling £178,000. It is also unclear what will happen to the residential property bought jointly by British Gas and Mr Herbert in 1992. Last year's annual report valued the company's share of the property at about £40,000.

Mr Brown has been at the centre of controversy since it was revealed last November that his basic pay had been increased by 75 per cent to £475,000. The situation has been exacerbated by a series of public relations fiascos that have dogged the company for almost a year.

Explaining his decision not to take part in the long-term incentive scheme, Mr Brown said: "I believe too much attention has been paid to my remuneration over the past 11 months and sincerely hope that we can now get on with the many complex and difficult challenges facing the company. I strongly believe it is in the best interest of the company if I do not participate in the scheme."

One City analyst said the changes announced yesterday should not be seen as an attempt to apportion blame. "This reflects the need for a smaller, more commercially oriented and more dynamic board. It should mean a better chance of getting key decisions through," he said.

The relentless demise of British Gas' reputation from



Mover and shaker: Under Richard Giordano, British Gas is likely to seek international expansion. Photograph: Geraint Lewis

one of being highly regarded by the City and the industry as a whole. The company is being forced to restructure to prepare for competition in the domestic gas market from next spring - a timetable imposed by the Government that has been widely but quietly criticised as being too tight.

The resulting upheaval caused a deterioration in some service standards and unhappiness among many customers. It has also caused problems between British Gas and rival suppliers who need to use the company's pipes.

British Gas has also exacerbated the situation by introducing a series of deeply

unpopular measures ranging from discounts for prompt payment to the ending of bill payment at gas showrooms.

Complaints and enquiries made to the company and to the Gas Consumers' Council have soared. In what became a vicious spiral earlier this year the company could not cope with the influx of telephone calls, which in turn caused even more complaints.

The Gas Consumers' Council holds the view that the company, while attempting to bring standards of service towards market levels, does not feel that British Gas has focused itself enough on the consumer. There is also a view in the industry that

the company, under Mr Giordano's rein, will become more of an international player and could even sell out of public gas supply as competition grows and margins are squeezed. It is thought that Ofgas would not object to such a move, as long as the gas supply operation was sold piecemeal. The regional electricity companies, most of which already supply gas to industrial or commercial users, would probably be keen to buy it.

The bulk of British Gas' assets in the UK in any case lie in the multi-billion pound pipeline system, which will remain a monopoly. It is seen as the jewel in the crown. But any sale of the gas supply business would

end the group's role as a public utility service company. And that, whatever the ambitions of the young blood in the boardroom, is still how millions of consumers see British Gas.

### British Gas Directors

Name	Term
Cedric Brown	1992
Ray Bamford	1994
Philip Rogerson	1995
Stephen Brandon	1995
Gong	1996
Russell Herbert	1996
Howard Dalton	1996
Norman Blacker	1996

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Financial adviser to China & Eastern Investment Company Limited  
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Details of the proposals referred to above are contained in the document dated 16th October, 1995 which has been approved by the London Stock Exchange and Hong Kong Stock Exchange as listing particulars relating to China & Eastern Investment Company Limited (the "Listing Particulars"). Copies of the Listing Particulars may be obtained during normal business hours on any weekday (Saturdays and public holidays excepted) from the date of this notice up to and including 18th October, 1995 (for collection only) from the Company Announcements Office, London Stock Exchange Tower, Capel Court, Off Bartholomew Lane, London EC2N 1HP and during normal business hours from the date of this notice up to and including 31st October, 1995 from:

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Baring Asset Management  
155 Bishopsgate  
London  
EC2M 3XY

17th October, 1995

## GEC telecoms chief set to go

The chairman of GEC's telecoms division may be asked to resign today at what is likely to be a tense board meeting of the defence electronics giant, writes Russell Hutton.

Richard Reynolds, a GEC director and long-time executive at GPT, is thought to be behind criticism of the way the appointment of a successor to Lord Weinstein has been handled. Observers believe it is unlikely that Mr Reynolds will survive, and one source said it was possible he will go before he is pushed.

Concern that Lord Weinstein's son, Simon, would replace him as managing director at GEC is said to have led Mr Reynolds to begin a campaign among some institutional shareholders to stop the move. Mr Reynolds, 56, failed to gather much support among other GEC directors.

Mr Reynolds, who joined GEC in 1960 and was appointed a director in 1986, may have had ambitions to succeed Lord Prior as chairman, though the company ruled this out some time ago. Two weeks ago Lord Prior tried to kill growing speculation about the succession by saying a shortlist was close to being completed. Simon Wein-

## Ford to double capacity at Wales engine plant

RUSSELL HUTTON

Ford, the US car company, was today hoping to confirm plans for an investment of more than £300m to double capacity at its engine plant in South Wales.

The company's executives were last night said to be putting the finishing touches to the plan which is expected to be announced by the Secretary of State for Wales, William Hague.

The Government is backing the project with state aid, and officials worked hard behind the scenes to persuade Ford to choose its Bridgend plant against competition from factories in Spain and Germany.

"There are still one or two administrative things to be sorted," said a Ford spokesman. "We're very highly regarded by the City and his loss after just 18 months would be a blow," Mr Reynolds said.

The investment is likely to provide a huge jobs boost, both at Bridgend and among UK components suppliers. Speculation that the investment would be between £250m and £300m was said by one Ford engineer to be "a bit of mark". The Bridgend plant employs about 800 workers and produces about 550,000 engines a year, including engines for Ford's popular Mondeo model. Last April, Ford said it was putting another

COMPANY RESULTS				
	Turnover £	Pre-tax £	EPS	Dividend
Barclays Holdings (I)	0.82m (£1.65m)	0.37m (£0.25m)	1.7p (£0.75p)	n/a (n/a)
Office Property (I)	1.23m (£1.75m)	0.34m (£0.22m)	0.49p (£0.46p)	n/a (n/a)
Highland Dist (F)	191m (£175m)	42.8m (£25.5m)	22.1p (£1.99)	7.5p (£7.29p)
Farwell Electronics (I)	253m (£226m)	0.67m (£0.02m)	38.1p (£14.38p)	4.6p (£3.8p)
Hewlett (I)	4.12m (£4.12m)	0.57m (£2.34m)	1.5p (£1.74p)	n/a (n/a)
Paddington Steaming (I)	0.43m (£0.26m)	0.23m (£0.07m)	3.17p (£0.85p)	n/a (n/a)
Singapore Plaza Holder (I)	0.53m (£0.34m)	0.34m (£0.15m)	2.27p (£0.76p)	n/a (n/a)
UB - Germany (F) - Total (I) - £100m				

# business

## THE INVESTMENT COLUMN

Edited by TOM STEVENSON

### Cash-rich Farnell looks overseas

Lucky Farnell Electronics just doesn't know what to do with all the cash thrown off by its successful catalogue-based component distribution business. Despite paying £37m on acquisitions – principally fellow distributor Combined Precision Components in May – Farnell still had over £70m in net cash at the end of July, representing 38 per cent of shareholders' funds.

Unless the group finds something to spend the money on, this embarrassment of riches is only going to deepen. Yesterday's half-year results to the sale of Farnell's manufacturing arm, but underlying profit grew by a healthy 25 per cent to £36m. That translated into operating cash flow of £17.6m even before acquisitions and disposals.

CPC, which sells to the UK repair market, is going like a train and actually ran out of catalogues in the spring. There is still plenty of scope to lever its 15 per cent margins, possibly up to the 20 per cent plus typical in the rest of the group's catalogue business.

What can be done is illustrated by Multicomponents, acquired in December 1993 and now a large part of the group's other division, distributing electronic bits and pieces to industrial customers. Margins have been raised from around 1.5 per cent to 6 per cent, tripling profits in under two years, and management is now aiming to lift the divisional return on sales to over 10 per cent.

Even so, with over 80 per cent of the home market tied up between Farnell and Electrocomponents, its slightly bigger competitor, the more exciting growth is to be had overseas. The European market, worth up to \$6bn, is six times as big as that of the UK, while

the US is three times as big again. The Far Eastern market is also substantial.

Farnell is having success with its formula overseas. Australia and France are becoming substantial businesses and the only real disappointment in the half year was Germany, where restrictions on supplies from IBM knocked sales though profits doubled.

But the real excitement must come from Farnell's entry this month into the key US and Far Eastern markets. The £1.5m or so cost to profits this year could take up to three years to pay back, but the cash cost will be small and fully justified by the potential returns.

Upgraded forecasts put profits at £75m this year, rising to £86m next, giving a prospective p/e of 18, falling to

16, with the shares at 65p, up 7p. The overseas moves carry some risk, but that does not justify the substantial discount to Electrocomponents' rating. Hold.

#### Famous Grouse about tax bill

Whether or not you agree with the Scotch industry's persistent bleatings for a more equitable tax regime, full-year figures from Highland Distilleries yesterday underlined the need for something to give.

With input costs on the rise, overheads already pared down effectively

and retail prices remaining under pressure it is hard to see where profit's growth is going to come from.

Not from growing volumes, if sales trends in the world's biggest markets are any guide. Last year Europe as a whole was flat as a pancake, although even that flatters as the UK, still more than half Highland's business, fell worryingly.

That led to a disappointing pre-tax profit rise of just 1 per cent to £42.9m (£42.5m). It was punished by the stockmarket, where the shares fell 1.2p to 379p.

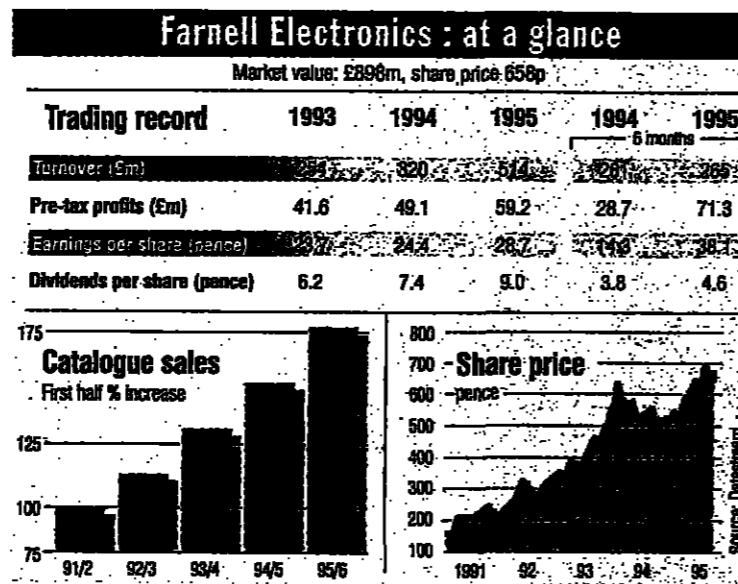
Forecasts, already fairly unambitious, were reignited in yesterday.

The only bright spot for investors was the comfortable dividend cover, which meant that despite earnings per share only improving slightly to 22.1p (21.9p), the full-year payout was able to jump 9 per cent to 7.9p (7.26p). Highland's biggest problem is its unusually large exposure to the UK consumer, which last year bought 7 per cent less Scotch than the year before. That makes it even more vulnerable than the rest of the industry to what does appear to be an unfairly harsh tax bill, which accounts for £7.63 of the cost of a £12.50 bottle of whisky.

The company has stuck to its guns on price but doing so has had the inevitable result, with consumers objecting to paying maybe £2 more per bottle for Famous Grouse than for the supermarkets' own brands.

In the short term profits are unlikely to exceed more than about £45m this year.

On a prospective price/earnings ratio of over 16, a big premium to Guinness, the shares still look expensive.



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## The right sort of takeover boom



### ECONOMIC VIEW

HAMISH McRAE

The wave of takeovers continues. Bull markets are so closely associated with it would be very odd, with a secure economic recovery and the Footsie within a whisker of its all-time high, were there not a surge of takeovers and mergers. The interesting question is not to ask why there should be a boom, but rather to ask why this one is different from previous versions, and in particular how a different sort of takeover boom might interact with what is clearly a different sort of economic recovery.

Oversimplifying somewhat,

this boom has two main distinguishing features: it is concentrated into a small number of specific areas, in particular financial services and the former nationalised public utilities, and the rationale is unusually skewed towards cost-cutting.

You do not, on the whole, get chief executives in the UK proclaiming that they are bidding for this or that firm because it is a wonderful way to expand into a new and exciting market.

Instead the stress is on the savings that might come from

nationalisation. Unsurprisingly, financial services and public utilities are the areas where the perceived savings are greatest.

So the merger boom is not a late-1980s burst of euphoria; rather a mid-1990s cold shower.

And of course this is reflected in the different tone of the economic recovery. Tell people that last year saw the highest growth since 1988 and they are unimpressed. It doesn't feel like that. The sense of insecurity is far too great.

All this might seem straightforward. It is quite reasonable to argue that a different sort of economic recovery should require a different sort of corporate response. What is less obvious is the way in which the corporate response makes possible a different set of economic policies.

In a nutshell, a series of

takeovers where the rationale is to grind down costs – and inevitably employment – both demands and makes possible an expansionist economic policy, whereas a takeover boom built on an overly confident perception of the prospects for growth demands a restrictive set of policies. The only way in which the people who lose their jobs

are not a 1980s burst of euphoria, but a 90s cold shower

is to make them redundant. The market is responding to the stimulus through an easy fiscal policy.

So this is the takeover boom that is not only wholly consistent with cheap money, it actually requires cheap money. Put another way, the micro-economic process of industrial restructuring needs cheap money both to finance it and to shelter its victims from the harsh consequences. If this argument is right, there are a number of practical consequences.

The first and in a way most interesting to the financial markets is that this takeover boom can continue for a long while.

A second is that the more

mergers that take place and the

more relentless the extraction of consequential cost savings, the more the authorities can take risks with inflation. That does not mean they can go wild, nor does it mean they should expand their fiscal deficits. But it does mean there is a micro-economic or structural reason for seeking to hold down interest rates, as well as any macro-economic reasons.

A third is that the more the Government of the day sees to slow the process, as a future Labour government might, the less it can rely on this to hold down inflationary forces. For it is not just post-merger restructuring that helps cut costs; fear-of-takeover restructuring is just as effective.

Economists are not good at spotting the way in which micro and macro policies interact.

Remember how the failure to see how financial deregulation and easy money would feed on each other exacerbated the 1987/88 boom. But that was a negative interaction bound to end in tears. The present process is positive. Or rather it is positive provided it is sustained by the authorities.

So what will happen next?

This is a natural cycle to the mergers in both financial services and the public utilities. At some stage in the next year, perhaps 18 months, the job will be done. On past experience, however, long before those two particular seams are mined, the markets will be seeking other areas where a reorganisation of the corporate world promises similar cost savings. So the takeover boom can run for rather longer than that.

What might choke it off?

One candidate would be a sharp rise in interest rates, probably associated with a sharp fall in share prices. Another would be a less liberal attitude to mergers. But provided the authorities appreciate that the more rapid the structural change in the company sector the greater the economy's capacity for growth, the less likely they are to call a halt. Expect this particular show to run a while yet.

Simon Pincombe CITY DIARY

## Consultants get ready to mix it in a loose maul

Mike Catt, the England rugby union full-back, and the first player to turn professional, is shortly to announce a sponsorship deal with a firm of management consultants. The coup is certain to lead to collective hysteria among rival firms, followed by a mad scramble for the remainder of the England team.

England rugby internationals will be paid £40,000 a year by the Rugby Football Union this season. Like footballers, they are free to negotiate individual deals on top of their salaries. But while Eric Cantona makes big bucks from his endorsement of Nike boots, rugby players may find it more difficult to push the questionable benefits of management consultancy.

It is one thing for Andersen Consulting to plaster its name over the crash helmet of the Grand Prix driver Damon Hill (although the image is slightly tarnished when filmed amid the wreckage of his Williams Renault). But there is not much mileage to be had from a minuscule logo stitched on the shorts of a fast-running player (unless he happens to be sent off).

No, the consultants must surely expect more. Post-match interviews with players are sure to degenerate into the cap-

changing exercises pioneered by the Grand Prix drivers. One firm that may have a distinct advantage is McKinsey. It could follow the example of the National Grid in cricket and sponsor the umpire/referee. The London office of McKinsey is run by Norman Samson, a former international referee who made his name when he sent off two players in the 1977 match between Wales and Ireland.

The removal of Derek Lewis as the Director General of the Prison Service may come as a blessed relief to his administration staff. The former chief executive of Granada earned an unenviable reputation during his time at the leisure and television concern as a man who found it hard to delegate control.

The result was an avalanche of memos, backing up his every action, even down to minor secretarial matters.

Granada insiders are still shaken by the sheer volume of paper work he left behind. Some have suggested, a little unkindly, that it has taken the two years that Mr Lewis has been at the Prison Service to clear the backlog. At least Sir John Learmonth, who prepared yesterday's report, was not short of documentary evidence.





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# sport

## The performance of the Bath backs must have gladdened Rowell's heart. It nevertheless gives him two problems

Not since South Africa annihilated Swans at St Helen's a year ago have I seen such a display of attacking rugby as Bath gave when they defeated Bristol at the Rec on Saturday. Indeed, if the match had been allowed to go on for another 10 minutes (the excellent referee, Brian Campsall, understandably blew up precisely on time, without allowing for second-half injuries) I have little doubt that Bath would have emulated the South Africans and put up over 70 points.

Of the two games, Saturday's was the more satisfying. Bristol are not a bad side and were not so on the day. They were simply confronted by a much better side. Jack Rowell was there to see the club he had

formerly coached triumph, and to draw the appropriate conclusions. Let me assist him in his task.

Graham Dave may be older than Brian Moore but is Moore's equal as a hooker and in loose play. His tight head, Victor Ubogu, is the perpetual bad-boy of international and club rugby alike. He is said to be "cautious" in his approach to the game. I do not know whether this is so or not. What I do know is that, once such a reputation has been acquired – whether in rugby or in gentler fields of endeavour – it is difficult to shake off. But there was nothing casual about Ubogu's display. In particular, he appeared quite comfortable against Bristol's loose head, Alan Sharp, who had

been puffed in advance as the visiting team's not-so-secret weapon.

We all know about Nigel Redman. He is the player that all the other players (at any rate, the other forwards) pencil first into any side, from Bath to the Lions. He did nothing to detract from his reputation.

But why is no one pushing Martin Haag for a place in the England side? He has a curious build for one in his position, with powerful legs and a relatively narrow upper body. A bit like Jonah Lomu. Maybe, on account of these characteristics, he manages not only to do his work in the lineout but to pop up in all sorts of unexpected places in open play. And he has good hands – better hands, certainly, than Ben Clarke,

though that is not saying much. However, I do not want to cast a sour note on the proceedings, especially as Clarke turned up mysterious on the left wing to score a try.



ALAN WATKINS

on rugby

Now that John Hall has retired from the No 6 position – though Bath, for some curious reason of their own, number the blind-side flanker No 7 and the open side No 6 – Steve Ojomoh can claim a regular place; unless, that is, Bath choose to move Clarke to No 6 in order to bring in Eric Peters.

But they are surely not going to mess Andy Robinson about any more. On Saturday he was everywhere, and had a hand in most of Bath's tries in his autobiography (reviewed here last week). Moore wrote that Robinson was the superior of Neil Back who had, in Moore's opinion, been the beneficiary of a press campaign. The two players are commonly linked because

Robinson is 5ft 9in and Back 5ft 10in, the latter having puzzlingly grown an inch in the past couple of years.

The truth is, however, that in his two international appearances Back has not performed as he has with Leicestershire or the Barbarians. This may have less to do with his height than with his temperament. My guess is, however, that Rowell will still go for the younger and taller Rory Jenkins of Harlequins in preference to Robinson – even though Paul Turner apparently made a monkey of Jenkins in the Sale match.

The performance of the Bath backs must have gladdened Rowell's heart. It nevertheless gives him two problems. One is whether to present Rob Andrew with his gold watch – he

deserves a silver tea set as well – and install Mike Catt at outside-half with Jon Callard at full-back. It was not a fair comparison between Callard and Bristol's Paul Hull, owing to Bath's superiority in other areas. Hull has been unlucky. But then so has Callard, who did enough to show his attacking potential.

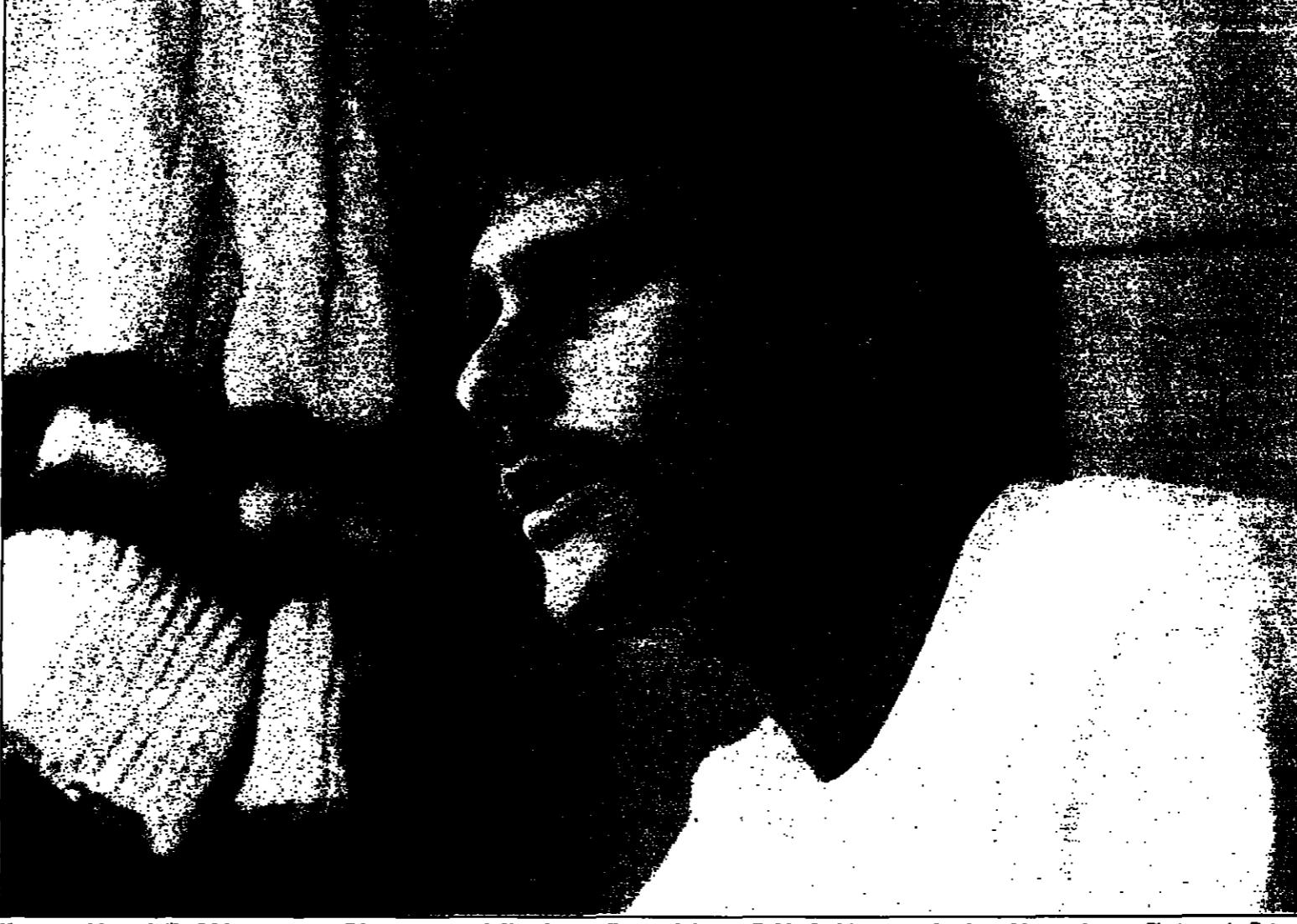
Rowell's other problem is whether to drop Will Carling and go for the Bath couple, Phil de Grawe and Jeremy Guscott, who on Saturday was accelerating like a French TGV. The trouble is that, if he did this, it would look as if Carling was being punished for indiscretions which had nothing whatever to do with rugby. Still, lucky Bath, lucky Rowell, lucky England.

## Squaring up to test of his life

### FACE TO FACE



**Ian Stafford** talks to Robin Smith about the bouncer (left) that could have wrecked his career, of his return to South Africa this week and of the night Mike Atherton drank all the wine



Homeward bound: "In 24 hours my confidence returned. Now I know I'm ready," says Robin Smith, determined to shine on tour

Photograph: Peter Jay

**I**n last week's small but crucial test took place in the misty solitude of Southampton's county ground. One of the best attackers of pace bowling in world cricket privately took guard and prepared to ask himself if he still had what it takes.

It is two months since the West Indian fast bowler, Ian Bishop, smashed a bouncer into the face of England's Robin Smith. The subsequent mess which was once the 32-year-old's check meant the end of his productive summer, and nearly his career.

Two depressed fractures later, plus an operation to insert, and then later remove, a plate, together with 14 stitches, resulted in an apprehensive Smith padding up for the first time since the injury in the Hampshire nets.

By his own admission, his exploratory batting session did not work well. The next morning, Smith returned to the nets, swallowed hard and took the plunge.

"They say that if you fall off a horse you should get straight back on it again," he said, constantly stroking the side of his face as if ensuring that it really is back in place. "So I got the bowling machine on fast and short. The balls kept flying at my face at tremendous speed, but I played well and never found myself in difficulty. In the space of 24 hours my confidence returned. Now I know I'm ready."

By this he means ready for the first England test series in South Africa for 25 years. There is no one in the England squad, which leaves tomorrow, who was more determined to make this particular tour. For Smith, born and brought up in Durban, will be playing in front of what was his home crowd, in a country he left 15 years ago for a new life in England.

### WHERE ARE THEY NOW?



David Harvey

By nature, goalkeepers are different, but David Harvey would seem unconventional even among his peers. While many Leeds players from the 1970s still haunt their old stamping ground, the man who succeeded Gary Sprake could not have left his past much further behind. Harvey, now 47, lives on the island of Sanday in the Orkneys, where he is restoring a 150-year-old stone cottage on a 10-acre plot he shares with his wife, June, and five children, plus various cattle, pigs, sheep and poultry, with the sea 200 yards from his front door.

"As a boy I loved the country and I wanted to be a herdsman," the Leeds-born former Scottish international said, recalling giddily how, at 15, he took a job in a shoe factory instead. "Happily, football rescued me and it is because the game was good to me that I can live this way now. You cannot make a living from 10 acres but we are more or less self-sufficient and the great thing is that it is totally stress-free."

Jon Culley

"I hope I'll be met with a lot of enthusiasm, but I realise it might go the other way."

We are in the Hampshire dressing-rooms, presently enjoying some badly-needed decorating, where his brother, Chris, and perhaps the greatest South African batsman of all, Barry Richards, once sat. Talk of the tour makes Smith's whole face light up.

"Of course, when I left for England in 1980, nobody could see how South Africa would be accepted again in world sport," he said. "But as soon as South Africa were re-admitted, it became a dream of mine to play there for England. To go and play in my own backyard, where I learnt my cricket, in front of my former home crowd, will be more special than playing anywhere else in the world for me. I want to play in all five Tests, of course, but the third Test in Durban, the match I've got to

be playing in."

What kind of a reception Smith will receive remains to be seen. Married to an English woman, with two children and a house in Salisbury, Smith sees himself as a fully-fledged Englishman, having lived here for 15 years. This may create some adversity. "When I became eligible to play for England in 1983, there were headlines in the South African newspapers saying: 'Smith turns his back on South Africa.' Since I left for England, I have been the subject of far more media coverage back in South Africa than any other English cricketer."

"I still don't know whether some people may think that I should be playing for South Africa against England, and I'm sure that, because of my

brother, it was too good a chance to turn down."

Starting out a sporting career so far from home, and at such a tender age, was daunting enough, but Smith also had to contend with the sudden discovery that life outside the pro-apartheid South Africa was entirely different. "In South Africa I believed what I was told. We all did. I was taught about the Boer War, and about the Afrikans, but never knew that Nelson Mandela was imprisoned in Robben Island."

"As a result, I was very naive. I had no idea what really went on outside the little world which was the former South Africa. There was no reason why I should have known, because when you're a kid you accept what you are taught at school and at home. Once I arrived in

England I quickly realised that the rest of the world had a different view of life. I read about what the world thought of South Africa, and about my former country's problems."

"It was a bit of a shock, but I adapted pretty quickly, as most young people do. I was made to feel very welcome at Hampshire and got on with what I love most – playing cricket. Looking back I, together with everyone else in South Africa, should have been made aware of everything that school.

"Now I'm delighted – together with the vast majority of South Africa – at how things have worked out over there. Mandela is a truly great man. To bear no grudges after what he lived through is remarkable, and I only hope that the country comes through the present testing problems as quickly as possible."

The next hurdle for Smith, if his dream is to come true, is to secure his position in the Test team. An absolute certainty in the late 1980s and early 1990s, he has endured some difficulty in holding his place in the England team in recent years.

Dropped before the final summer Test against Australia in 1993 – "Mike Atherton was staying at my house. He drank all my red wine the night before, and that told me I was out of the team over," Smith bounced back that winter against the West Indies, before a run of poor scores against New Zealand in the summer of 1994 resulted in him cruelly missing the

three-Test series against South Africa, and then last winter's tour to Australia.

He accepts that form has, from time to time, deserted him, but not the criticism he received from within the England camp. "Keith Fletcher's remarks during the Antigua Test in 1994 were a real setback for me," he admits. "I was 68 not out overnight, and he calls a press conference to announce to the world that too many outside interests were affecting my game. He accused me of being more concerned about mak-

ing money off the field than caring for the field than being a dedicated cricketer."

"I like people to be honest with me. If someone comes up to me and tells me to my face, that I'm not playing well enough, then fine, but to rather tell the world's press what's wrong with my batting was, to say the least, disappointing. I went on to make 178, my highest Test score, the next morning. Perhaps I hadn't been thinking about success. I would have made 250."

Point taken. Smith concedes he was not as dedicated as he should have been, but for very different reasons. "I'd been playing virtually full-time cricket for 13 years, and felt burnt out. As a result, I wasn't practising as much as I should have been. I was in Australia last win-

ter, watching the Test series while on business with my travel company, and I realised how much I missed cricket and that I would rather have been out there with the England boys. Being dropped gave me the kicking I needed, but I resented the accusations. I led to quite a bit of stick. I remember walking out at Southampton, and hearing a few people shouting out: 'Shouldn't you be in the office?' or 'Here comes the millionaire'."

"When things go slightly

wrong, people always look for excuses, and I

have always felt, as an outsider, who's come in, that I have to do a little better than everyone else. Lamby (Allan Lamby) has gone through the same thing. You don't quite

seem to get as many chances. The point is that my cricket career could end tomorrow. It nearly ended when Bishop hit me. I have every right to try and feather my bed for when I finally quit the sport, but it seems that I will never lose the tag of being South African."

Speaking of tags, Smith's final problem is his so-called difficulty with spin. Even the tribe of hitherto unknown tree people, recently discovered in Sumatra, have probably debated this issue over the years. "Tell me about it," Smith adds, weary. "Even when I play in local

benefit games I hear a fielder shouting to his captain: 'Put me on skip, I can bowl leg spinners and Smith's batting'."

There then follows a well-prepared case for the defence.

"I've scored 20,000 first-class runs at an average of 46; 4,000 Test runs at 44, and an average of 41 in one-day internationals. I average 64 against India, the best spinners in the world. Come on, I can't be that bad, can I?"

"When I play Sussex, they always put on Ian Salisbury. I've

scored 10 centuries against that lot. When I played Northampton last summer, Lamby im-

mediately put on Anil Kumble.

He bowled 70 overs in that in-

nings, and I scored 184, and made a point of reminding Lamby later. The bottom line is that I never think 'Oh shit, they're bringing on a leg spinner'. I admit to being more comfortable against pace, look better and play with more command, but the end result is no different."

Now even Johnny Cochrane

would have been proud of that

defence. All that is left, then,

is a successful tour in South

Africa. "I'd be disappointed if

people didn't think I was one

of the best six batsmen in Eng-

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being picked for the team. That's not being arrogant, just honest."

I make the point that he

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mer home. "Yeah, you're right," he answers. "That would be something, wouldn't it?"

Michael Schumacher plans to begin his challenge for a third consecutive Formula One title just nine days after the final round of the current championship.

The German, all but con-

firmed as champion, is scheduled

to have his first test drive in a Fer-

ari at Estoril on 21 November.

The Italian team and Benetton-

Renault are negotiating for his

switch to take effect after the

# sport

## Cottee's strike rebounds on Dons

MIKE ROWBOTTOM

Wimbledon 0

West Ham United 1

1

A goal involving swift movement of the ball and support in numbers won an intensely competitive London derby at Selhurst Park. Wimbledon, in short, were out-Wimbledoned and had Tony Cottee, the scorer, and Iain Dowie reacted better in the closing minutes the margin could have been embarrassing.

Wimbledon, who had conceded 17 goals in their previous five games, began with a new defensive formation, employing three centre-backs. It looked effective enough for 18 minutes, until a perceptively angled through ball from Michael Hughes created an opportunity for Robbie Slater to run in on the Wimbledon keeper.

The ball appeared to have carried a little beyond the reach of the ginger-haired Australian, but his stretching challenge was enough to send it looping up off Heald's legs and Tony Cottee, following up, drove in his first Premiership goal of the season.

Suitably encouraged, West Ham should have added a second goal just after the half hour when John Moncur's swift break and another cross from Hughes – back in his second loan period from Strasbourg – presented Iain Dowie with a clear chance from six yards out. But his downward header was blocked by Heald's reflex save.

Wimbledon's immediate response – straight out of the Plough Lane hall of infamy – was a clattering foul by Kenny Cunningham on his opposite full-back, Julian Dicks, back from suspension and facing an FA charge of dispute on Thursday. You could see a metaphorical key being put into Dicks's back – but, wisely, he refused to be wounded up.

Wimbledon's response after the break was more positive and within five minutes they nearly had a reward when Robbie Earle hooked a shot against the bar after Lukas Miklosko, under extreme pressure, had failed to deal with a corner.

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Not as famished as Raith Rovers, whose first European campaign has brought them

Bayern Munich, Jürgen Klinsmann and all, in the second round at Hibernian's Easter Road. They will be urged to provide one thing by their manager, Jimmy Nicholl: "Make

Auxerre coach, Guy Roux. Frank Clark, Clough's successor at the City Ground, admits:

"They were patient in their build-up, deceptively slow at times, waiting for the moment to deliver. Almost before you knew it, the ball was whipped in. English teams tend to get it forward much more quickly."

PSV may, if anything, be technically superior to Monaco. Fortunately for Leeds, their defensive linchpin is more alert than most to the danger of being blinded by science.

Graduating with honours: David Wetherall, Leeds' defensive linchpin, went from student to championship winner in his first year at Elland Road. Photograph: Allsport

# Wetherall's empirical progress to be tested

**O**n a scorching afternoon, the coach carrying the Leeds United team edged through the masses besieging Old Trafford. A seasoned international turned to David Wetherall and said: "Welcome to the real world."

While the notion of football as the real world would make a fascinating thesis in one of the "ologies", the words were carefully chosen. Wetherall, who sat out the match as a substitute, was then embarking on his last year as a chemistry undergraduate at Sheffield University. Not so much an unreal world, more a different planet.

Three years on, and with a BSc (Hons) degree to his name, the 24-year-old six-footer has made the transition from lab coat to first-team shirt so successfully that he is Leeds' first-choice centre-back. Tonight, in the first leg of a Uefa Cup tie against PSV Eindhoven, he faces his sternest examination.

The Dutch club's Brazilian prodigy, Ronaldo, will be missing because of injury. Even so, Wetherall might have wished for an easier evening after Saturday's chastening experience against Messrs Bergkamp and Wright. The technique of players like Wim Jonk and Jan Wouters should ensure that the game is an education for the Leeds defence.

Given the way he balanced a desire to pursue a sporting career with the wish for a qualification, it seems odd that Wetherall's approach is now characterised as uncompromising. He chose a course in his

home city so that he could live with his parents and play for Sheffield Wednesday's reserves. When he left for Leeds, in a £275,000 package with Jon Newsome, the close proximity was part of the attraction.

For 12 months, his first at Elland Road and last as a student, Wetherall lived a double life. His debut, four days after the visit to Manchester United, was an extraordinary initiation.

There he was, a part-time player, for the champions-to-be against the reigning champions, Arsenal.

"With 20 minutes to go, we were 2-1 down and I was on the touchline ready to go on," Wetherall recalled. "Then Lee Chapman scored and the gaoler (Howard Wilkinson) told me to sit down again. But he threw me on for the last two minutes. I always tell people that made the difference in winning the title!"

Wetherall initially felt he was "on the outside looking in" at Leeds. His conscience nagged him, especially when the squad toured the city in an open-top bus with the trophy. "I had an exam that week, so I could

either go with the lads or stay home to revise. I decided to work, but looking back I think: 'What the hell were you doing? Those experiences don't come around that often.'

His development as a player was hindered by being unable to train every day. "I definitely missed out. I noticed a massive difference in my fitness coming in full-time after just having two blasts a week."

Not was he able to join in college life, as he would have liked. Time-honoured student pursuits such as collecting traffic cones or occupying the refectory went by the board as he dashed between South and West Yorkshire.

The last reserve game of my first season here coincided with my finals. I finished at five o'clock and belted over here, got changed and went straight out on the pitch. I was trying to concentrate when I suddenly thought: 'Dame! I answered question seven wrongly.'

Late in the "hangover" season which followed the championship, he began playing regularly in the Premiership.

"I'm optimistic," Howard Wilkinson, the Leeds manager, said, "but then he always is." The decision whether he plays may become a battle between the player's eagerness and the medical panel's misgivings.

In Leeds' favour, there seems no such dilemma over PSV's who are second behind Ajax in the Dutch League and whose

strides made since then were recognised last spring, when Wilkinson named him as his player of the year.

Wetherall has learned, according to his manager, "when to push up, when to step back and when to put a foot in". In the sense that he is more effective imposing himself between opponents and goal than in bringing the ball out, he is an old-fashioned stopper. His aerial ability also makes him a threat at set-pieces.

Organising the defence is an aspect where he admits there is room for improvement. "I'm naturally quiet, but that's no excuse," he said. "A lot of people change their personalities when they cross the line, and I've got to do the same."

Tony Adams sets the standard to which he aspires, while Alan Shearer has been "by far" his most troublesome opponent.

Europe presents a different test. The main threat for Monaco, Leeds' first-round foes, was posed by Ronald's compatriot, Sonny Anderson. Quick and clever as he was, Wetherall found the Continental tempo more problematic.

"They were patient in their build-up, deceptively slow at times, waiting for the moment to deliver. Almost before you knew it, the ball was whipped in. English teams tend to get it forward much more quickly."

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## European dreams threatened by home discomforts

There is an orthodoxy about Europe that dictates you win ties at home and make sure you do not lose them on your travels. The first round of the Uefa Cup rather confounded that.

Both Leeds and Liverpool had their opponents buried, if not dead, before they got them home while Manchester United did what was expected in Russia and then succeeded on away goals to Rotor Volgograd. It is a deviation from the trend that is soothng nerves around an Elland Road preparing to play host to PSV Eindhoven in the second round tonight.

So far this season, good news has arrived in West Yorkshire mainly via the television as Leeds, at home, have resembled takeaway owners than defenders of a fortress. Even Tony Yeoobal has prospered more away from Elland Road, scoring nine of his 11 goals.

The 3-0 defeat by Arsenal on Saturday hardly helped as Leeds, without the injured Gary McAllister or an explosive intervention from Yeoobal, looked bereft of ideas. It was not the best preparation for PSV, who are second behind Ajax in the Dutch League and whose

tactical nous has been fortified by the appointment of the former Netherlands coach, Dick Advocaat.

Much could depend on the fitness of McAllister, who sustained a knee injury playing for Scotland last week and, as well as missing out tonight, is doubtful for the second leg in a fortnight's time. "Losing him," Advocaat's Dutch international winger, Glenn Helder, said, "is like Leeds losing Yeoobal."

Leeds will not have their expensive striker, Stan Collymore, in their team, either,

against Brondby in Denmark, but that will be by choice as Ian Rush is preferred as the foil to Robbie Fowler.

This is an abandonment of the one-striker policy adopted in the 2-1 success over Vladikavkaz in Russia in the first round, although Roy Evans cannot be described as acting through ignorance, as his reserve goalkeeper, Michael Stengard, lived 15 minutes from Brondby's stadium before moving to Anfield last year.

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## Ryan first to yield to Andrew's advances

### Rugby Union

STEVE BALE

Rob Andrew finally got one of his men yesterday when he signed the captain of his old club to play for his new club. Dean Ryan, three times an England back-row forward, is to leave the First Division by joining Newcastle from Wasps as Andrew's assistant director of rugby.

Ryan's incentive is a three-year deal worth around £150,000 plus other perks including housing, and he will start playing for the Second Division club as soon as possible. Under current regulations this would be February, but the Rugby Football Union is considering

abandoning its 120-day qualification for transferred players, despite the opposition expressed yesterday by Tony Hall, the RFU secretary.

"Movement of players during this period of change needs to be possibly more restrictive," Hall said. "What worries me is the polarisation of players to one or two clubs and the effect it will have on the competitive edge of the game if all are amassed at one club or another."

Newcastle's slide into the relegation area has not been abated by Sir John Hall's cash injection, and his rugby development director has found it hard being "the Kevin Keegan of rugby" as well as England stand-off when players have

been rejecting his advances.

Ryan's acceptance therefore represents a critical breakthrough, not least for its propaganda effect on other prospective recruits. The England wings Rory and Tony Underwood, who unlike Ryan have considerable North-eastern connections, are on Andrew's shopping-list and likely to make their decision this week after talking further to both Newcastle and Leicester.

"My contract is for three years and the terms are attractive enough for me to move home, family and job," Ryan said yesterday. "But that's not the sole reason. I want to be actively involved beyond my playing days, though I'll continue playing for as long as I can. I'm

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## Edwards still in doubt for semi-final

DAVE HADFIELD

The England captain, Shaun Edwards, was described as responding to treatment in a private clinic for the knee infection that has laid him low, but he remains doubtful for the World Cup semi-final against Wales at Old Trafford on Saturday, writes Dave Hadfield.

Gary Connolly, the Wigan centre who has been out with pneumonia, yesterday completed a training session and will be considered for the semi-final.

The Welsh have serious injury problems of their own. John Davies has a deep laceration of the knee and is rated no better than 50-50, while Neil Cowie is thought to have strained ligaments and has had his ankle immobilised as a precaution. Alun Bateman is to see a dental surgeon over damage caused by a blow to his mouth.

Featherstone Rovers have signed Fiji's World Cup second-row forward Iliesa Toga on a one-year contract. And three of his Fiji team-mates – full-back Waisale Sovatava, prop Malakai Yasa Kamaiva and winger Josia Dakuitoga – have joined Sheffield.

They brought the flavour and especially the sounds of those islands to Featherstone last night, for the first time they scored. It was always likely that the drummers would be kept busy, as the

